



LEAVES THEY HAVE TOUCHED:  
BEING A REVIEW OF SOME HISTORICAL AUTOGRAPHS.\*

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I find in my portfolios and other receptacles of loose miscellaneous matter a considerable accumulation of manuscript documents of more or less public interest. Some of them are throughout in the handwriting of men of eminence, while others bear their signatures only, having been composed, or transcribed, or filled up, by a secretary or other functionary. I have thought that I might in some degree utilize these papers by citing pages from them, as nearly as may be in chronological order, and exhibiting the originals whenever the intrinsic interest of the document or other circumstances seemed to make it worth while to do so. In this way, I suppose, I may make my collections help forward the study among us of civil and literary history.

Autograph documents sometimes enable us to realize to ourselves a historical character in a curious manner. The statesman, the business man, the literary man, each reveals himself with an extra clearness in his manuscripts. Should the paper before us chance to be a first sketch or rough draft, we discover which were the writer's first thoughts and which were his second, what he deemed it politic to add under the circumstances, and what to suppress; while in the handwriting itself we have not only a clue to general character and

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temperament, but hints of the mood or frame of mind at the date and moment of composition—evidences as to whether these were calm and collected, or agitated by some dominant passion or feeling. Men whose names, after the lapse of a generation or two, had become simply abstract terms as it were, or mere shadows, thus live again in our imaginations by means of signs traced with their own hands when here in the flesh. No production of theirs coming under our eye in print could affect us in the same lively way.—Sometimes the character of one long defunct may be shrewdly divined from his effigy, his counterfeit presentment, on a well-preserved ancient coin or medal; but a surer idea of him would be gained by the study of an autograph fragment, were it possible to have access to such a waif from the past.—And what is now said of the manuscript relics of eminent men is true also, though perhaps not so strikingly, of books which exhibit their autographs and other evidences of former ownership. Here, we say to ourselves, as we are turning over the leaves of the volume—here are pages which their eyes have carefully scanned: here is matter which has engaged their special attention. Here and there perhaps we discern their underscorings: here and there we have their marginal annotations. To the cursory review then of the MS. collection which I propose to make, I may conveniently add brief notices of some volumes distinguished in the manner now spoken of, which are in my possession.

My first paper will consist of specimens of Canadian historical autographs. I trust that its effect will be to foster an interest amongst us in early Canadian history. To this paper I subjoin a few examples of autographs connected with the history of the adjoining United States. My second paper will be a review of a number of specimens which will, in their way, illustrate Old World history, civil and literary and in their way also, stimulate the study of Old World history amongst us. And in my third paper I shall treat of some MS. relics in my collection which specially relate to personages formerly or at present eminent in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford.

My matter, I must premise, will be of a very miscellaneous character—a mosaic made up of irregular pieces. The autograph collector cannot always possess himself of what he would desire. He must be content with what chance throws in his way. The fragments selected for my purpose in these papers will be, as far as practicable, charac-

teristic of the respective writers, or, if not so to be described, characteristic of the times, or indicative of the manners of the day. Here and there my specimen may form a text for a very brief dissertation on some point which it may suggest. Chronological succession or contemporaneousness will, as I have already hinted, be the chief principle of connection between the several parts of each of my papers.

I.—SOME CANADIAN AUTOGRAPHS AND NORTH AMERICAN  
GENERALLY.

I proceed, then first, with my Canadian autographs. I have aimed at a catena of manuscript memorials of governors and others who have been of note among us; but I have been hitherto only partially successful in securing specimens. The difficulty of recovering manuscript relics of sixty or seventy years ago is not slight. Whenever the only quotations I have it in my power to give are somewhat colourless, I trust to Canadian local feeling to clothe seemingly trivial words with the needful modicum of interest.

To make a beginning, I produce an autograph letter of the French Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. This nobleman visited Canada in 1795. He remained for some time at Newark or Niagara, and then passed down the lake to Kingston. In the account of his travels which he afterwards published, he gave an elaborate description of Upper and Lower Canada, and commented in statesmanlike style on the policy of the Governor-General of the day, Lord Dorchester, and on that of the Lieutenant-Governor of the young western province, General Simcoe. The letter which I have expressly relates to this his volume of Travels, which I need scarcely say has now become a classic to the student of Canadian history. Soon after its publication on the continent of Europe, it was translated into English and published in London. It appears that the first sheet of the English production, containing the Translator's Preface, had been sent over to the duke, and he was shocked at some language which the translator had therein employed in regard to himself. He found himself openly charged with a breach of faith in proclaiming to the world certain matters that had been made known to him in the confidence of private conversation. The letter which ensues is the one which I have in my collection. It is in French, and is addressed to Mr. Neuman, the English translator. The duke says: "*Monsieur,—Une petite partie de la traduction que vous publiez de mon Voyage*

dans l'Amérique du Nord viens de m'être envoyée de Londres. Je ne vous parlerai ni des censures, ni des éloges que vous faites de cet ouvrage dans votre préface ; il appartient au jugement et aux opinions du public, et de chaque lecteur en particulier, et chacun peut les prononcer comme il lui plaît, et rectifier même parfois le jugement du traducteur, si celui-ci a été fidèle dans sa traduction. Mais, monsieur, vous êtes homme de lettres, et homme de lettres distingué. Je dois donc vous croire des sentiments analogues à cette profession. Comment alors avez-vous pu vous permettre d'écrire dans cette même préface, page 9.—'He tells all that he could learn, without being restrained even by considerations of personal delicacy or the secrecy of honour.' De quel droit vous permettez-vous une insulte aussi offensante ? Qui vous a dit que j'avais violé un secret ? Qui vous a dit que les informations que j'avais recueillies dans le haut Canada m'avaient été données en confidence ? Qui peut enfin vous autoriser à dire que j'ai manqué à l'honneur ? Il me semble que pour hasarder une telle assertion contre qui que ce soit, il faut la soutenir de preuves bien fondées et bien multipliées ; autrement on se rend indigne de l'estime des gens honnêtes, car ils mettent les assertions calomnieuses au rang des plus mauvaises actions. Est-ce là une conduite digne d'un homme de lettres, d'un homme moral ? Est-ce enfin, pour me servir de l'expression très significative de votre langue, se conduire 'like a gentleman ?' Je vous en fais juge vous même, monsieur, et si quelques motifs d'intérêt personnel ou d'influence particulière ont guidé votre plume en écrivant cette indigne phrase, je doute qu'ils soient suffisants pour vous excuser même auprès de votre réflexion et de votre conscience. J'ai seul, monsieur, le besoin de vous adresser ces réflexions et ces reproches. J'aurais pu les rendre publiques, et je suis assuré que parmi votre nation dont la générosité est un des caractères principaux, mes réclamations n'auraient pu être mal accueillies. Mais j'ai préféré les adresser à vous seul, et par respect pour votre caractère d'homme de lettres distingué, et encore par ce qu'ayant été indigné à la première lecture de cette phrase. J'ai néanmoins la confiance que la réputation de probité à laquelle seule j'aspire, et que je crois mériter ne recevra aucune atteinte de votre assertion." He then expresses some apprehension in regard to the perfect accuracy of Mr. Neuman's translation of the Travels. He says : "Je n'ai point lu la traduction dont la préface et l'épître dédicatoire ni ont été seulement

envoyées par un ami je suppose que la traduction est exacte ; néanmoins, je vous avouerai, monsieur, que la dernière phrase de l'avant dernier *a linea* de l'épître dedicatoire ne me laisse pas sans inquiétude, puis qu'elle est loin de rendre la sens de l'original qui à la verité est peu important dans ce passage. J'ai l'honneur d'être, monsieur, votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur, LA ROCHEFOUCAULD-LIANCOURT. Hamburg, Septembre 22, [1799], chez Mess. Mattmessen, Salem et Cie." Outside, it is addressed in English, "To H. Neuman, Esq., at R. Phillips', No 71 St. Paul's Churchyard, London ;" and the stamp is "Foreign Office, October 1, 1799."

What Mr. Neuman's rejoinder was I am not able to report. The *Travels* were published in English, first in the quarto form and then in the octavo. I do not see that the translator made any alteration in his language in the second issue. The duke takes for granted, it will be observed, that the translator in his preface alluded to the account given of the policy of the Governor of Upper Canada in relation to the United States, and doubtless he was right in his conjecture. It will be proper, however, to mention that the duke in that portion of his narrative guarded himself against a possible charge of breach of faith. After speaking of the persistent hostility of the Governor against the newly established republic, and of his intention to employ the Indians in any future war with that power, he adds : "I should not have credited these projects had I heard them stated by any individual but the governor himself ; nor should I have ventured to introduce them here, but that, within my knowledge, he has repeatedly communicated them to several other persons." The translator may also have had in view what the duke reports of the sentiments of some military men with whom he dined at Kingston. Amongst these gentlemen, he says, "The general opinion in regard to Canada is, that this country proves at present very burdensome to England, and will be still more so in future ; and that, of consequence, Great Britain would consult her true interest much better by declaring Canada an independent country than by preserving it an English colony at so enormous an expense. The Canadians say they will never be sincerely attached to England, so that if in time of war a militia were raised, not half of them would take up arms against America [he means to say the United States], and none perhaps against France. The British Government commits, therefore, in their opinion, a gross error in expending such vast sums in attempting to



improve and preserve a country which, sooner or later, is sure to secede from Great Britain, and which, did it remain faithful to the mother country, could not be of real service to it for any length of time."

As to Mr. Neuman, of whom the duke speaks as "a distinguished man of letters," the only other literary production of his which I see named is a translation of a play of Kotzebue's, entitled "Self-Immolation." As to the duke himself, the author of the *Travels*, it will be of interest to state that he was the descendant and lineal representative of François, Duc de la Rochefoucauld, the famous author of the "Reflexions, or Moral Sentences and Maxims," who was descended from the ancient Dukes of Guienne. One of these Rochefoucaulds served under Philip Augustus of France against our Cœur de Lion; and Froissart speaks of another of them who attended a tournament at Bourdeaux with a retinue of 200 men, all kinsmen or relatives. One perished in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve, and his heir was soon afterwards murdered by the partizans of the League. The son of this one was created a duke by Louis XIII., (the title had been previously count), and it was his son, the second duke, who became known throughout Europe by his volume of *Maxims*. The next duke, Master of the Horse to Louis XIV., was, like his predecessors, a great soldier; as also was his successor, who took part in the engagement at Landen, in which William III. of England was defeated. The next duke became a friend and follower of Voltaire, and lost favour at the court of Louis XV. The next, during the troubles of the French Revolution, was taken from his carriage and killed by a mob in the presence of his wife and mother at Gisors in 1792, his crime being his title, although politically he was a liberal. The traveller of the years 1795, '96, '97, in the United States and Canada, was the nephew of this duke, and, as I suppose, inheritor of the title, which, however, had become illegal in France. He was the friend, and, in some sort, the pupil, agriculturally, of the Englishman Arthur Young, and many parts of the duke's work consist of the kind of information which Arthur Young, towards the close of the last century, travelled through England, Ireland, France and Italy to collect. The Epistle Dedicatory, of which we have already heard, prefixed to the *Travels*, is addressed to the widow of the recently-murdered duke, his uncle: the lady, however, was dead before the *Travels* appeared. The duke, while referring to this

circumstance in his Preface, alludes to the tragical fate of his relative. It would appear that both uncle and nephew had been warned of their danger if they remained in France; but of his uncle, the nephew says: "His virtue was so exalted as to render him unsuspecting of so nefarious a course, and his internal consciousness induced him to slight the advice which his friends gave both to him and to me, at the time when an order was given to arrest us, and which in all probability was not the only mandate concerning us from the same quarter. He would not quit France; but I," exclaims the author of the Travels,—“I, who was less confident and less virtuous, fled from the poignard, while he fell by its stroke!”

But it is time to proceed to another autograph.

The Lord Dorchester of whom the Duke de Liancourt has occasion to speak so often in the first volume of his Travels was better known as General Carleton, and General Sir Guy Carleton. As General Carleton he won in his day laurels from Quebec almost as glorious as Wolfe's. Furnished with very inadequate means, he endured a close siege of six months within its walls, defending it against two determined assaults, in one of which the commander of the invading force, Montgomery, was slain. This was in 1775-6. The war of the American Revolution was in progress. The Congress, aware of the weakened condition of the royal armies in Canada, determined to attempt the conquest of that country. On the 3rd of November, 1775, Montreal surrendered to a United States force sent against it by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu. Not many days later in the same month, a force appeared before Quebec, having pushed north by a new and most difficult route—the valleys of the Kennebec and Chaudiere. Quebec was almost destitute of competent defenders. The bulk of the troops had been drawn off to posts more exposed. Happily Carleton, Governor-General at the time, and Commander-in-Chief, had escaped capture at Montreal, and by the memorable aid of Com. Bouchette, had descended the river in safety to Quebec. Here he instantly organized a garrison out of such material as was at hand: the French and English inhabitants acting as militia; some men of a discharged Highland regiment (Fraser's); the sailors from the ships; a few regulars (70); a few Royal Artillery (22), and 35 marines. All caught the spirit which animated Carleton himself, and the result was that the city and fortress were saved to England. A consider-

able portion of the invading force surrendered at the time their commander was slain: the remainder, in the following spring, decamped, leaving behind them their stores, their artillery, their scaling ladders and their sick. Three armed ships from England seen rounding the opposite promontory of Point Levi, bringing aid and supplies, were the cause of this precipitate flight. No hostile flag has since been seen before the walls of Quebec. These occurrences took place, as we already said, in 1776.

My *MS.* memorial of Carleton is interesting and somewhat characteristic. It consists of an order wholly in his own handwriting, authorizing the distribution of powder and shot to the Indians of Lorette, a well-known Huron village near Quebec. The date of this document is January 4, 1770. It reads as follows: "Quebec, Jan. 4, 1770. You are hereby required to issue out of the King's stores of this town, one hundred weight of gunpowder and two hundred weight of shot for the Huron, of Lorette. GUY CARLETON. To the respective officers of the Board of Ordnance."

The band of Hurons at Lorette were thus, we see, not deprived of their fire-arms. Confidence in the native races was established. The wide-spread conspiracy of Pontiac against the English had collapsed some time since; and the great chief himself had met with a violent death in the far west the preceding year. The powder and shot ordered to be issued from the King's stores were expected probably to aid in provisioning the city during the winter months.

In 1777 Carleton solicited his own recall from Canada, offended at the appointment of General Burgoyne, instead of himself, to the command-in-chief of the army in North America. He afterwards, however, obtained the honour which he had envied Burgoyne. But the war was then drawing to a close. It was in 1782 that he succeeded Sir Henry Clinton as Commander-in-Chief. In 1786 he was raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester; and in the same year he was sent out again to Canada to execute the functions of Governor-General a second time. In 1796 he returned to England, after a popular administration; and in 1806 he died, having attained the age of eighty-three.

Sir Guy Carleton's successor as Governor-General, before his second return to Canada, was General Haldimand, a Swiss by birth. I have his autograph attached to a document dated Quebec, 25th October, 1782—a paper transmitted to the Lords Commissioners of



his Majesty's Treasury, in company with an account of "all the revenues in Canada for the last six years." I regret that I do not possess the account itself. He adds: "Independent of these revenues, there are quit-rents and other territorial rights due to the Crown from the lands at or near Detroit. I do not find," he says, "that any account has been transmitted here of the amount. I have applied," he says, "to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, and to Major de Peyster, the present commanding officer at Detroit, for information on that subject, which I will take the earliest opportunity to transmit." This Report is addressed to Richard Burke, Esq., who appears to have been Secretary to the Lords of the Treasury. He was brother of the celebrated Edmund Burke, and he made some speeches in Parliament on the Quebec Bill.

I have another document bearing the signature of "Fred. Haldimand," which will recall the times in which it was written. The Revolution, we must again remember, was in progress in New England and the colonies further south. But Canada was yet a fastness of the Royal cause. Here was still a base of operation against the anti-Monarchists of the continent. From Quebec, "British gold" circulated to clever hands in Albany and New York and other places; hence also was it disbursed in the way of relief to sufferers in limb and property in the cause of the Crown. Canada was the asylum towards which the eyes of persecuted loyalists elsewhere were, voluntarily or involuntarily, directed. Sometimes, as we shall see, an itinerant friar from these quarters was a secret political agent elsewhere. Once, perhaps often, a scout is dispatched hence to intercept a mail, with a view doubtless not only of embarrassing the malcontents, but also of discovering who were and who were not disaffected nearer home.

The paper to which I refer contains an account of cash paid at sundry times for private services and gratuities from 25th June, 1779, to 10th November, 1784. Major Robert Mathews, Secretary to the Governor, also signs the document. I give a few of the items. "1780, Aug. 10.—To Enos McIntosh for services rendered to scouting party, £6. Sep. 26.—To Lieutenant Smith, of the 31st Regiment, towards indemnifying his loss when shipwrecked serving with a party as marines on board the armed ship *Wolfe* (20 guineas), £23 6s. 8d. Nov. 29.—To John Coffin, Esq., (late of Boston,) in consideration of his distinguished services during the blockade, and

his distressed circumstances, £100. 1781, May 14.—To Mr. Wing and his guide, John Chalmers, going on secret service to Saratoga to intercept the Albany mail, £24. May 16.—To Captain Sherwood of the Loyal Rangers, gratuity for private services, £50. July 5.—To *Hudibras* (an inhabitant of Albany), gratuity for private services (50 guineas), £58 6s. 8d. [It would have brought trouble upon the party to have named him.] Oct. 16.—At Sorel, gratuity to the officers of the militia for their readiness upon all occasions in forwarding the service (6 guineas), £7. 1782, Feb. 27.—Père Louis, a Recollet, gratuity for private services (10 guineas), £11 13s. 4d. April 7.—To Capt. Sherwood (agent for secret service) to send to Col. Wells and other correspondents in the Colonies, to defray contingent expenses (50 guineas), £58 6s. 8d. July 9.—To Mr. Lansing, (agent for Vermont), gratuity for private service, £49. 1783, May 27.—To Captain Brant, the Mohawk Chief (30 guineas), £35. July 28.—To Baptiste Lepeau, an inhabitant of Percée, gratuity granted to him yearly in consideration of his having lost both his hands, and otherwise wounded at the defence of that post, £10. Sept. 11.—To Mr. Shepherd, of Albany, gratuity for forwarding dispatches and intelligence (25 guineas), £29 3s. 4d. 1784.—To Joseph Brant and Captain David, Mohawk Chiefs, to defray their expenses from and to Montreal. Oct. 25.—To Captain Gleissenberg, of the Brunswick troops, in consideration of his services, having been twice wounded in our service, and in great distress, £58 6s. 8d."

The paper from which I have made these extracts is dated, not from Quebec, but from Curzon Street, London, 23rd March, 1786. This was the year after Haldimand's recall. Trouble arising out of his government in Canada, fell upon him after his retirement into private life. He had administered affairs too much in the spirit of a martinet, and actions at law for damages were successfully brought against him in the English courts.

Of this period is an autograph signature which I have of "John Schank, senior officer and commissioner." It is attached to a certificate that "Surgeon Melvill had attended the pilots and sick invalids that were put on board His Majesty's armed ship, the *Canceaux*, by order of His Excellency Gen. Haldimand," for which Surgeon Melvill was to receive a gratuity of six guineas. To this is appended Surgeon Melvill's receipt to Thomas Dunn, Esq., Paymaster, Naval Department, Quebec.

John Schank was afterwards an Admiral of the Blue. In 1776 he commanded the armed ship *The Inflexible*, on Lake Champlain. In 1793 he published in London a folio "Sketch of Two Boats and a Cutter with Sliding Keels." He is to be distinguished from Colonel, subsequently General, Shank, who once commanded the forces in Upper Canada, and possessed property in the neighbourhood of Toronto. The name of the latter was spelt differently. I have his autograph also in a note to be given hereafter.

Some of the agents dispatched to Albany and elsewhere on confidential errands by Governor Haldimand were, no doubt, occasionally involved in trouble through their mission. We have perhaps an instance in one Augustin Lansier, who gives this receipt in 1779 for money received by way of compensation for sufferings at the hands of "the rebels":—"Received from Thomas Dunn, Esq., by order of His Excellency, Gen. Haldimand, One Hundred Pounds, currency, as a gratuity for my sufferings when Prisoner among the Rebels, and on account of my Effects of which they plundered me in March, 1776, when they took me Prisoner. LANSIER. Quebec, 9th Sep. 1779." That his Christian name was Augustin we learn from a mem. on the back of the receipt. The Thomas Dunn, Esq., here named, twice at subsequent periods administered the Government of Lower Canada during interregnums with great eclat. The Hon. J. H. Dunn, familiar to readers of Upper Canada history, and father of Colonel Dunn, distinguished in the Crimea, was, as we suppose, of the same Dunn family already connected with Canada. Of Governor Haldimand we have permanent memorials in the Canadian local names—Haldimand County, Haldimand Township, and Haldimand Cove. It was during his administration that the scheme for settling the United Empire Loyalists in Upper Canada began to be carried actively into effect. From Lord Dorchester, it should have been said, Dorchester Township is named; and once the heights from Queenston to Hamilton appear to have been known as Dorchester Mount.

Among my papers is the autograph of a military commander very distinguished in Canadian history just before the era of Haldimand and Lord Dorchester. The name of Amherst is familiar to us as that of the general officer to whom the Marquis de Vaudreuil surrendered Montreal and the whole of Canada in 1760. He was afterwards raised to the peerage as Lord Amherst. It is his signature simply as "Amherst" that I possess, repeated thrice. The document,

however, does not relate to Canada ; but it may be worth while to give it, furnishing as it does an example of routine at the Horse Guards in 1789. Moreover, it is addressed to the identical Sir George Yonge from whom our Yonge Street has its name. The paper is labelled at the back, "Lord Amherst, recommending succession to Lieut. Pyott in the 2nd Regiment of Life Guards, and to Lieut. Young in the 60th Regiment of Foot." It is wholly in Amherst's own admirable bold handwriting. Thus it reads : "St. James' Square, 3rd April, 1789. Sir, I have the honour to enclose to you a succession to Lieut. Pyott, in the 2nd Regiment of Life Guards, which His Majesty has been pleased to approve, and to direct that Commissions may be prepared for His Majesty's signing. I reported to the King the situation of Lieut. John Young, of the 60th Foot, that I had transmitted his memorial to you ; and that from his services, losses and paralytick state of health, he begged to be permitted to sell his Commission ; and as Lieut. Pyott was desirous of remaining in the Army, I hope, he might be allowed to purchase of Lieut. Young. I therefore beg the favour of you to lay the same before His Majesty, and to desire the Commission may be dated on the 2nd of April, by which Lieut. Pyott will retain his rank in the Army. I enclose Lieuts. Pyott and Young's certificates. I have the honour to be, &c., AMHERST." We have then also, wholly in Amherst's hand, a memorandum of the move-up consequent on Lieut. Pyott's change : "Most humbly proposed to your Majesty in the Second Regiment of Life Guards : By Purchase, to be Lieutenant *vice* Edward Pyott, who resigns, the eldest Cornet who can purchase—John Hughes. To be Cornet *vice* John Hughes, promoted Sub-lieutenant in the late first Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards—Arthur Cuthbert." All this is signed "Amherst, Colonel," and dated 2nd April, 1789, with the addition, "Approved by the King : the Commission dated this day. AMHERST."

The supporters of Lord Amherst's shield of arms are two Indians, described in Burke's Peerage as "Canadian Indians;" but, strange to say, they are represented as fettered, as in chains. The heraldic emblazonment of these figures is this : "Two Canadian war Indians, of a copper colour, rings in their ears and noses, and bracelets on their wrists and arms, argent ; cross-belts over their shoulders, buff ; to one, a powder-horn pendent ; to the other, a scalping-knife ; their waists covered with a short apron, gules ; gaiters, blue ; seamed, or ;

legs fettered and fastened by a chain to the bracelet on the outer wrist, proper; the dexter Indian holding in his exterior hand a battle-axe; the sinister holding in his exterior hand a tomahawk, thereon a scalp, all proper." It is evident the herald gave his whole mind to this elaborate delineation. The Canadian will note his elegant euphemisms "guter" and "apron," and the nice distinction of battle-axe and tomahawk. It need scarcely be added that our Amherstburg and Amherst Island have their names from this Lord Amherst. One of Lord Amherst's seats, that near Seven Oaks in Kent, is called "Montreal."

Lord Amherst was twice Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, in England. In 1795 he was succeeded in this high office by the Duke of York, second son of George III., whose column dominates St. James' Park in London so conspicuously at the present day. It was from this Duke of York that Toronto was named York; and on this account it is that I preserve with care a certain cheque on the famous London Bankers, Coutts & Co., for the respectable sum of £160. These are its terms: it is in favour, it will be seen, of a namesake of the duke's, of whom I discover nothing. "London, February 6th, 1798. To Messrs. Thomas Coutts & Co. Pay to Frederick Anders or Bearer the sum of One Hundred and Sixty Pounds, and place to my account. FREDERICK." The whole is written with the duke's own hand, neatly and well, on a half sheet of gilt-edged notepaper. Frederick Street, Toronto, still retains the duke's Christian name.

I wish I could produce a relic of General Wolfe. I have to content myself at present with a long and valuable holograph from the hand of one who was intimately associated with him, Major Holland. Major Holland was an engineer officer, who, in a most essential manner, aided General Wolfe at the capture of Louisbourg and before Quebec. Major Holland's name has also a special interest with us as having been given to a well-known river to the north of Toronto, the Holland River. In his letter which I transcribe, we are introduced to Captain Cook, subsequently the great circumnavigator, who comes before us consistently as the intelligent, inquiring man he was, desirous of adding at every opportunity to his professional knowledge and skill. Cook, it appears, was sailing master of the ship-of-war *The Pembroke*, of which the commander was Captain Simcoe, father of Governor Simcoe. When at Quebec



in 1792, Governor Simcoe desired Major Holland to give him, in writing, whatever particulars he could recall respecting his father, Captain Simcoe, then deceased some thirty years. Hence the letter which I have. The Captain of *The Pembroke*, it will be observed from Major Holland's account, was an enlightened and spirited naval officer, possessed of the dash and daring that marked Wolfe himself. Cook too, it will be noticed, acknowledged in after years his great indebtedness to his former superior on board *The Pembroke*. Holland's letter to Governor Simcoe reads as follows :

"Quebec, 11th January, 1792. Sir: It is with the most sincere pleasure that I recall to memory the many happy and instructive hours I have had the honour of enjoying in your late most excellent father's company ; and with more than ordinary satisfaction do I recollect the following circumstance which gave birth to our acquaintance : — The day after the surrender of Louisbourg, being at Kensington Cove surveying and making a plan of the place, with its attack and encampments, I observed Captain Cook (then master of Captain Simcoe's ship *The Pembroke* man-of-war) particularly attentive to my operations; and as he expressed an ardent desire to be instructed in the use of the Plane Table (the instrument I was then using), I appointed the next day in order to make him acquainted with the whole process. He accordingly attended, with a particular message from Captain Simcoe expressive of a wish to have been present at our proceedings, and his inability, owing to indisposition, of leaving the ship ; at the same time requesting me to dine with him on board, and begging me to bring the Plane Table pieces along. I with much pleasure accepted that invitation, which gave rise to my acquaintance with a truly scientific gentleman, for the which I ever held myself much indebted to Captain Cook. I remained that night on board, and in the morning landed to continue my survey at White Point, attended by Captain Cook and two young gentlemen who your father, ever attentive to the Service, wished should be instructed in the business. From that period I had the honour of a most intimate and friendly acquaintance with your worthy father ; and during our stay at Halifax, whenever I could get a moment of time from my duty, I was on board *The Pembroke*, where the great cabin, dedicated to scientific purposes and most taken up with a drawing-table, furnished no room for idlers. Here, under Captain Simcoe's eye, Mr. Cook and myself compiled materials

for a chart of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, which plan at his decease was dedicated to Sir Charles Saunders, with no other alterations than what Mr. Cook and I made coming up the river. Another chart of the river, including Chaleur and Gaspé Bays, mostly taken from plans in Admiral Durell's possession, was compiled and drawn under your father's inspection, and sent by him for immediate publication to Mr. Thomas Jeffereys, predecessor to Mr. Faden. These charts were of much use, as some copies came out prior to our sailing from Halifax for Quebec in '59. By the drawing of these plans under so able an instructor, Mr. Cook could not fail but improve, and thoroughly brought in his hand, as well in drawing as protracting, &c.; and by your father's finding the latitudes and longitudes along the coast of America, principally Newfoundland and Gulf of St. Lawrence, so erroneously heretofore laid down, he was convinced of the propriety of making accurate surveys of those parts. In consequence, he told Captain Cook that as he had mentioned to several of his friends in power the necessity of having surveys of those parts, and astronomical observations made as soon as peace was restored, he would recommend him to make himself competent to the business by learning Spherical Trigonometry, with the practical part of Astronomy; at the same time giving him Leadbetter's Works, with which Mr. Cook, assisted by his explanations of difficult passages, made infinite use, and fulfilled the expectations entertained of him by your father, in his survey of Newfoundland. Mr. Cook frequently expressed to me the obligations he was under to Captain Simcoe; and on my meeting him in London in the year 1776, after his several discoveries, he confessed most candidly that the improvements and instructions he had received on board *The Pembroke* had been the sole foundation of the services he had been enabled to perform. I must now return to Louisbourg, where, being General Wolfe's engineer during the attack of that place, I was present at a conversation on the subject of sailing for Quebec that Fall: the General and Captain Simcoe gave it as their joint opinion it might be reduced the same campaign. But this sage advice was overruled by the contrary opinions of the admirals, who conceived the season too far advanced, so that only a few ships went with General Wolfe to Gaspé, &c., to make a diversion at the mouth of the River St. Lawrence. Again: early in the spring following, had Captain Simcoe's proposition to Admiral Durell been put into execu-

tion, of proceeding with his own ship *The Pembroke*, *The Sutherland*, Captain Rous, and some frigates, *via* Gut of Canso for the River St. Lawrence, in order to intercept the French supplies, there is not the least doubt but that Monsieur Cannon with his whole convoy must have inevitably been taken; as he only made the river six days before Admiral Durell, as we learnt from a French brig taken off Gaspé. At this place, being on board *The Princess Amelia*, I had the mortification of being present whilst the minute guns were firing on the melancholy occasion of Captain Simcoe's remains being committed to the deep. Had he lived to have got to Quebec, great matter of triumph would have been afforded him, on account of his spirited opposition to many Captains of the Navy, who had given it as their opinion that ships of the line could not proceed up the river; whereas our whole fleet got up perfectly safe. Could I have had recourse to my Journals, which have unfortunately been lost, it would have been in my power to have recounted many circumstances with more minuteness than I am at present enabled to do. I have the honour, &c., SAMUEL HOLLAND."

Captain Simcoe's death occurred, from natural causes, off Gaspé, just as the fleet was beginning its ascent of the river for the memorable attack on Quebec, in 1759. His monument in Cotterstock Church, Northamptonshire, says: "He was an officer esteemed for great abilities in naval and military affairs, of unquestioned bravery, and unwearied diligence." Appended to Major Holland's letter is the following memorandum in the handwriting of Gen. Simcoe himself: "Major Holland told me that when my father was applied to, to know whether his body should be preserved to be buried on shore, he replied, 'Apply your pitch to its proper purpose: keep your lead to mend the shot holes: commit me to the deep.' J. G. S." The mention in Major Holland's letter of "the great cabin" of *The Pembroke*, "dedicated to scientific purposes, mostly taken up with a drawing table, and furnishing no room for idlers," gives us a pleasant glimpse of an interior scene in an armed cruiser engaged in the double service of defending and surveying a coast. Great, doubtless, has been the debt of all later navigators of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence to the observations jotted down for the first time in the busy great cabin of *The Pembroke*. Major Holland was uncle of Joseph Bouchette, author of "The British Dominions in North America," who ultimately became his successor as Surveyor-General of Lower Canada.

My autographic relic of Surveyor-General Bouchette is a letter written at Montreal in February, 1800, addressed to a cousin of his, Ensign Cheniquy, 2nd Battalion Royal Canadian Volunteers, at Quebec. This letter happens to name Major Holland. It refers to an enclosure, an application to the Governor apparently, which Cheniquy was first to seal and then entrust to the hands of Major Holland, "as if he had not seen it." "You alone," he then proceeds, "can put the matter in fair and speedy train. \* \* Neglect nothing, and let the matter be over as soon as possible and let me know the result." He then offers land at 3s. 6d. an acre. "As to land," he says, "I shall dispose of any quantity at 3s. 6d. per acre. I have six hundred acres in Darlington, the third township to the eastward of York, and two hundred acres on Yonge Street, back of the town, lot No. 62; and I have four hundred acres in Rainham, near the Grand River; therefore I state this to you that you may take your choice, or any number of acres you please."

The successor of Gen. Simcoe in the Government of Upper Canada was Lieut.-Gen. Hunter. I have nothing to represent him except a note in the handwriting of his Secretary and Aide-de-Camp, addressed to the Ensign Cheniquy just named. The ensign, after obtaining his commission, had perhaps been prevented by circumstances from joining his corps, and had offered some explanations. The Secretary's note was as follows:—"SIR: I have had the honour of laying your letter of this day [the document is dated at Quebec, 17th March, 1800,] before Lieut.-Gen. Hunter, expressing your anxiety to join your regiment immediately. The General desires me to say that he perfectly approves of your joining your regiment as soon as possible, and thinks the sooner you do so the better. I have the honour to be, &c., W. J. CURREY, Aide-de-Camp."—This reads like a communication from Gen. Hunter, who is remembered as a strict disciplinarian.

An autograph letter, which I preserve, of Monseigneur Denaut, French Bishop of Quebec, relates also to the same Ensign Cheniquy. We learn from it that the young soldier had been applying in 1803 for admission or re-admission to the Seminary at Quebec, with a view to studying for Holy Orders in the French Church. The letter is in French, and is dated "Quebec, 3 9bre, 1803." "Monsieur," the bishop says, "Je n'ai point d'objection particulière à votre entrée au Séminaire pour y continuer vos études. Je l'ai déjà permis une fois, et vous avez quitté. Voyez M. le Supérieur et arrangez-vous ensemble."

Quant à faire de vous un ecclésiastique—cela ne peut avoir lieu qu'après examen fait par Monseigneur de Canathe qui jugera de votre capacité, de vos dispositions, et du temps de vous admettre. Je m'en rapporterai à lui, et sa décision sera la mienne. Je suis &c., + P. Evêque de Quebec."—The Monseigneur de Canathe just mentioned was Joseph Octave Plessis, coadjutor to Bishop Denaut from 1797 to 1806. His Life has been published, and forms a work of great historical interest. I have his autograph also, and it chances likewise to relate to Eusign Cheniquy. A document in the handwriting of Bishop Plessis is by no means a common sight. The language of the paper this time is Latin. First we have a brief certificate of Joseph Cheniquy having attended confession, signed by a presbyter named Demers. "Audi vi Jos. Cheniquy. Quebeci, die 3â Maii, 1803. DEMERS, pter." Then in continuation follows Bishop Plessis' testimonial to Cheniquy's orthodoxy: "Quem fidei Catholicæ adhærentem et nullo, quod noverim, censurarum vinculo irretitum omnibus ad quos præsens perveniet schedula testificor. Ego infra scriptus. + J. O. Epûs Canathensis et Co-adjutor Quebecensis, Qubeci, 13 Maii, 1803." The "Demers, presbyter," whose signature appears above, was in his day a man of eminence in the scientific world of Canada. His work, entitled "*Institutiones Philosophicæ ad usum studiosæ juventutis*," was published at Quebec, in 1835.—Further on, I shall have occasion to give some passages from an autograph letter of Jacob Mountain, the first English Bishop of Quebec.

I introduce here the letter of a Mohawk chief addressed to General Simcoe in England, after his final departure from Upper Canada. It will serve to shew the esteem and veneration in which the general continued to be held among the native tribes and other portions of the people lately under his rule. Liancourt remarked how Governor Simcoe cultivated the good will of the Indians. Joseph Brant was his personal friend. The name of the chief whose letter I am about to give from the original, was John Norton, but known among the Mohawks as Teyoninhokarawen. He is said by some to have been the son of an Indian woman by a Scotchman; but Stone in his Life of Brant puts it the other way, and says that he was the son of a Scotchwoman by an Indian, which does not seem so probable. He passed two years in Scotland in his early boyhood, and moreover received some education in an American college. Stone remarks of him, that next to Thayendanegea, *i. e.* Brant, he was the most distin-



guished of the modern Mohawks. It was he who continued the translation of the Gospels, begun by Brant. The letter of Teyoninhokarawen which I possess is dated at Bath, in England, Dec. 24, 1804. It then proceeds thus :

"Sir: The many important concerns that have occupied your Excellency's time since you left the wilds of Canada to lament your absence, may have left but imperfect traces on your mind of some of its remoter parts and of its inhabitants. But with respect to them, retired and sequestered from the busy world, nothing could intervene to shade from their memories the grateful sense they retain of your benevolent intentions towards them, and the active zeal with which you were ever ready to promote every measure in your power for the welfare of that country and the various descriptions of people therein residing, as also for those out of its boundary, but who ever faithfully adhered to His Majesty's interests and relied on his fatherly protection. Since I have been in Britain," he continues, "I have greatly desired to do myself the honour of waiting on your Excellency. But the distance of your residence, and the business which occupied my attention, caused me to defer from time to time, till lately I came to Bath, when I proposed myself that pleasure; but by a particular arrangement was so soon recalled to London as to put it out of my power for that time. As I now hope to be able to remain for this week at Bath, could your Excellency with propriety and convenience permit me to wait upon you, I would do myself that honour any day you might be pleased to appoint. With the greatest respect, I have the honour to be, &c., JOHN NORTON, Teyoninhokarawen.—P.S. Please to direct to me at Mr. Robert Barclay's, Bath." The peculiar use of the word "Britain" above reveals the Scottish tincture in the chief's education.

Norton, we are told, when in Bath appeared in the Pump Room in Indian costume, and the following scene is said to have occurred. A young Englishman, who had been in America, accosted him, and gave him to understand that he suspected him to be an impostor. Norton calmly assured him to the contrary. "But then," returned the other, "if you really are what you pretend to be, how will you relish returning to the savages of your own country?" "Sir," replied Norton, "I shall not experience so great a change in my society as you imagine; for I find there are savages in this country also."—Norton proved himself a useful ally to England in the war with the United

States in 1812-13-14. He assisted at the capture of Detroit ; he was present on Queenston Heights when Brock was killed ; he entered Fort Niagara when surprised and taken by Colonel Murray in December, 1814 ; and again, at the famous night-attack on the United States' camp at Stoney Creek, he was also present. Norton's association with the British officers on these and other occasions gave rise to some wild stories, believed in the United States. One writer reports that Colonel Murray, when he surprised Fort Niagara, entered the fort at the head of 400 British and Indians. James, in his "Military Occurrences of the Late War," &c., corrects the statement by saying there was but one Indian, and he was a Scotchman : meaning, of course, Norton. But doubtless, wherever Norton was, his savages were not far off.

As a companion-piece to Norton's letter, I give another, written also by our educated Indian chief, Captain John Brant, son of Joseph, and his successor as Tekarihogea, or Head Chief of the Mohawks. Its date, however, is so late as 1825. I transcribe from the original. Application is made therein to Colonel Givins, of the Indian Department, for his friendly intervention in behalf of Thomas Davis, Susannah Johnson and Lucy Brant, Grand River Indians, who had suffered losses during the War of 1812. "Their respective claims," Captain Brant says, "have been legally authenticated before William Holme, Esq., of Dumfries ; and I believe that they have proceeded in every respect according to the rules of the Commissioners. These claims were transmitted to J. B. Macaulay, Esq., Clerk to the Commissioners, nearly a year since. It is in consequence of the bad state of health of the Hon. Col. Claus," Brant adds, "that Thomas Davis intends to solicit your assistance, and to inquire of Mr. Macaulay if the Commissioners have examined those claims : and also the result of such examination. Any assistance you can render to these people will be gratefully acknowledged by, Dear Sir, your very faithful servant, J. BRANT." The letter is dated at Wellington Square, July 5, 1825. This is the J. Brant who, when visiting England in 1821, called on the poet Campbell to retract the language he had used in "Gertrude of Wyoming" in regard to his father, Joseph Brant. Campbell's elaborate reply can be seen at the end of Stone's Life of Joseph Brant. The Mohawk name was Ahyouwaeghs.

The Hon. Col. Claus long filled a large space in the Canadian public view, as Chief Superintendent of Indian affairs. Here is a

letter of his dated Niagara, 6th November, 1806. It is addressed to the same Cheniquy of whom we have already heard. Cheniquy's occupation as a military man was gone, the Canadian Volunteers having been disbanded. Col. Claus alludes to hopes of half-pay fondly but vainly indulged by Cheniquy. He speaks a good word for Gen. Hunter, who was lately deceased. He names also Judge Thorpe, and disapproves of his having presented himself as a candidate for a seat in Parliament. Col. Claus addresses his letter to Cheniquy at Springfield Park, near York. This was the abode of Mr. John Mills Jackson. Col. Claus says,—“Dear Sir, I was favoured with your letter of the 12th ultimo, and I am to acknowledge myself highly flattered with your good wishes for me. I have been unwell, but not seriously so. I hope and at present feel myself to be getting strength every day. I have heard that Mr. Justice Thorpe is offered to the public to represent the Counties of York, Durham, &c. Every man has a right to give his opinion; and I think that Law and Divinity ought to have nothing to do with Politics. \* \* \* There is no report here of the half-pay being allowed to the Canadian Volunteers. As to the truth of it, I cannot say anything about it.—I hope it may be the case. As to General Hunter's administration, what a few idlers and discontented people may say will never affect him. Those who cry out are strangers both to him and his measures, and some who received from him that censure and punishment that they deserved. He was an honest man, which cannot be said of some who make such a noise. I should be happy if I had it in my power to do anything for you. I shall always be happy to hear from you, and believe me, &c., W. CLAUS.” It may be pleasing to know that, through Col. Claus, Cheniquy did obtain (in 1807) an appointment as Collector at St. Joseph, in the Far West. I have a letter of Cheniquy's in which this is implied. Also I have a portion of Cheniquy's Journal as far as Matchedash Bay, *en route* to St. Joseph. In his way up Yonge Street he rested at the Count de Châlûs'. (He speaks of the Count's place as “Windham.”)

Having named Judge Thorpe, I am led to give two or three letters from the hands of our early Judges. First I go back in time a little, and transcribe an autograph of Chief Justice Osgoode's, the first Chief Justice of Upper Canada. It is a communication addressed to W. Dummer Powell, Esq., at Detroit, in 1794. Mr. Powell's home was at that place at the time. He had not yet been raised to the

Bench. The Chief Justice writes plaintively of his "solitude" at Niagara: alludes to some mental perplexity which he does not care to commit to paper: refers to projects for the speedy establishment of a Superior Court of Judicature to be stationary at the seat of Government. Among the items relating to current events at the end, he speaks of the pacific tone of certain communications of "Mr. Washington" to Congress. The Chief Justice writes from Navy Hall, the Governor's residence at Niagara, the humble accommodations of which are to be gathered from the regret expressed that it had not been convenient to offer Mr. Powell's son a bed there, except only during the absence of Major Littlehales. I now give the text of the letter:

"Navy Hall: May 2, 1794. Dear Sir: By the report of the Attorney General on his return from Detroit, [this would be Mr. White] as well as the expectation formed by your son on his arrival here, I was flattered with the hopes of seeing you in this quarter during the course of last winter, and had cause to regret the disappointment both from the loss of your company, which would have greatly cheered my solitude, and because I was thereby deprived of an opportunity of conversing with you upon some topic connected with our system of judicature, and perhaps of receiving some insight upon a question that involves a matter of candour with which I confess I am at present somewhat puzzled, and which, if stated upon paper, might lead to a tedious and unavailing discussion. As it seems to suit the general convenience that the Assembly should meet in June, it would not be easy to arrange matters for holding the Western Circuit in spring so as to secure my return in time. I must therefore defer it till autumn. Many circumstances have made it absolutely necessary that some course should be taken to relieve those gentlemen in part who have gratuitously stood forward to administer justice at a time when the country was destitute of professional men, and to carry into effect the institution of that Superior Court which is provided for by the civil estimate of the Province, and the want of which has been openly and repeatedly complained of by the people. For the reasons you formerly detailed, I know that the removal of your family will be attended with much inconvenience, and, without the means, can only wish I had the power of redressing it. In this case the most friendly part I can act is to apprise you, that unless some unforeseen event should occur, a Bill will be brought forward

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this Session to establish a Superior Court of Judicature, to be stationary at the Seat of Government; and, till that shall be fixed, to be holden at the last place of meeting of the Assembly. I am sorry it was not in my power to offer a bed to your son except during the absence of Major Littlehales. We have no news from Europe except by way of the States. A copy of the King's speech has found its way here, which continues to insist on the necessity of opposing the measures of the French. No mention is made of the American States; but I am happy to learn, from a recent communication from Mr. Washington to Congress of letters from Mr. Pinkney, that at an interview with Lord Grenville the most pacific professions were made by the Secretary, so that the apprehensions of war begin to subside. I am, Dear Sir, with great esteem, &c., WILLIAM OSGOODE."

It would appear that during the subsequent autumn Mr. Powell had visited Niagara, and had returned rather suddenly to Detroit, with the intention of bringing down his family. Navy Hall was to have afforded them a temporary shelter in the expected absence of the Governor for the winter. But in the meantime some change had occurred in the aspect of public affairs, and it might be expedient for the Governor to pass the winter, after all, at Niagara: also, it might be necessary to quarter a military guard in the spare portion of the Governor's House. The following note was accordingly dispatched. I copy from the original. "Navy Hall, Nov. 14, 1794. DEAR SIR: The critical situation of affairs will in all probability render it necessary for His Excellency to remain at Navy Hall during the ensuing winter, and he may have occasion to quarter troops in that part of the House which was otherwise intended for the temporary accommodation of your family. Under these circumstances, His Excellency has directed me to write to you immediately, to obviate any inconvenience you might else experience. I am, Dear Sir, with regards, &c., E. B. LITTLEHALES.—P.S. Colonel Simcoe was prevented from personally explaining to you what he has directed me to write, owing to your unexpected departure to Detroit."—To this autograph letter of Major Littlehales', it will not be inappropriate to append Liancourt's account of the impression made on himself by that gentleman. "Before I close the article of Niagara," the duke says, "I must make particular mention of the civility shown us by Major Littlehales, Adjutant and first Secretary to the Governor—a well-bred, mild and amiable man, who has the charge of the whole



correspondence of Government, and acquits himself with peculiar ability and application. Major Littlehales appeared to possess the confidence of the country. This is not unfrequently the case with men in place and power; but his worth, politeness, prudence and judgment give this officer peculiar claims to the confidence and respect which he universally enjoys."

In connection with Mr. Powell's first visit to Niagara and the fraternal conferences which, as we have seen, Chief Justice Osgoode in his solitude desired to have with him, I must give the following note from the autograph of the Governor himself: "Col. Simcoe's compliments to Mr. Powell: Mr. Chief Justice Osgoode is to be with him at eleven o'clock, when he shall be happy to present Mr. Powell to him. Sunday morning." Public men, at home and here, were not in 1794 so scrupulous as they are obliged now to be, in regard to utilizing occasionally some of the hours of Sunday for the consideration of affairs of state. In the following year, under date of "4th July, 1795, Saturday morning," we have a note in the handwriting of Major Littlehales, addressed to Mr. Powell, in these words: "Lieut.-Governor Simcoe will be glad to have the pleasure of seeing you to dinner to-morrow at three o'clock, and is the more solicitous in this invitation, as he wishes to converse with you upon business, before or after dinner." And when the King's birthday falls on a Sunday, the Commandant at Fort George does not defer to the following day the dinner to which he invites his friends. Thus: "Major Shank requests the honour of Mr. A. Macnab's company to dinner on Sunday, the 4th of June."

A note of Chief Justice Elmsley (Osgoode's successor) to Mr. Powell, now advanced to be Mr. Justice Powell, exhibits the same peculiarity. It is dated "Sunday morning," and conveys the following queries to Mr. Powell. (They constitute my chief MS. relics of Chief Justice Elmsley). "1. Is their any ordinance or law that has made any alteration in the Penal Law of this Province since the 14th George III., except that which extends Petty Larceny to twenty shillings sterling? 2. By what Proclamation, Ordinance or Law was the Penal Law of England introduced here? for the 14th Geo. III. mentions its having been established near nine years. To these questions," he then says, "allow me to add another of much less importance. Is it the custom to give the Grand Jury a dinner here, as elsewhere?" I happen to possess Mr. Justice Powell's response, in

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his autograph. He says: "I know of no law affecting the Penal Code of this Province except the change you mention, extending the value of Petty Larcenies to meet in some measure the depreciation of money. I consider the Criminal Code of England, as it stood in 1774, to be operative here, being then confirmed by statute. Its first introduction was by Proclamation, 1763, extending the Laws of England to all newly acquired conquests. It followed the first Civil Governor's Commission, which was in '65 or '66." He then answers the Chief Justice's inquiry about the dinner. "It has not been customary to entertain the Grand Jury on the Home Circuit, no allowance having been made for the expenses of it to the Officers." Chief Justice Elmsley was afterwards Chief Justice of Lower Canada. A few words of his, penned by him when resident at Quebec, are the following—the mention of five o'clock as the Quebec dinner hour will perhaps redeem them from mere commonplace: "Mr. Elmsley will do himself the honour of waiting on the Bishop of Quebec and Mrs. Mountain at dinner on Friday next, at 5 o'clock." The note is addressed to "Mrs. Mountain, Belmont."

To accompany Chief Justice Elmsley's autographs, I add a passage from an admirably written letter now lying before me, of Mrs. Elmsley, at the time of the date (1825) his widow. It is addressed to Mr. Alexander Wood, and relates to a generous offer that had been made by that gentleman to restore a parcel of land containing fifty acres, to the Elmsley Estate, for a reason which will in these days be considered romantic. In view of the great and unexpected rise in the value of property since the purchase, he feels that he got it altogether too cheap. He therefore desires to hand it back to the Estate, that the Estate, and not himself, might reap the benefit. Mrs. Elmsley firmly declines the proffered advantage in this well-expressed language: "I thought I had not sufficiently remunerated you for the infinite trouble you have had in the care you have taken of the property, by allowing you to *purchase* the lot in question instead of *giving* it, and was much gratified when I heard it had become more valuable. In case you should wish to dispose of it even in this way you were still my *creditor*, for the land became yours at the price it was *then* valued at; and whatever *future* advantages might arise from such property, the increase of value must be yours as much as if you were to receive the benefit of any article in trade. You have done more for me and my family than any one else would

have done ; and though I feel your last act of kindness, if possible, more than all past favours, yet I must not tax your friendship at so high a rate. Therefore, pray do not be offended if I decline the benefit you generously proposed, and allow me the gratification of knowing that you have received a trifling profit from what, in fact, is your own to dispose of as you please. The continued friendship of a mind like yours will always afford me more real pleasure than accession of riches ; for few, very few indeed, possess such feelings as yours, and such a friend I shall feel the greatest pride in boasting of. I have met with many instances of ingratitude, but your disinterested conduct has a hundredfold overpaid me."

The successor to Chief Justice Elmsley, in Upper Canada, was Chief Justice Allcock. My MS. relic of him is dated from London, 3rd April, 1805. He writes to inform Mr. Justice Powell that "Mr. Robert Thorpe, who succeeded Mr. Cochran at Prince Edward Island, [*i.e.*, as Judge], is appointed his successor in Upper Canada." The vacancy on the Bench in Upper Canada had been occasioned by a singular disaster, by which a judge, a solicitor-general, a sheriff, a high bailiff, a prisoner, witnesses, and others were suddenly engulfed in Lake Ontario in a Government vessel named *The Speedy*, not one person of those on board surviving to tell the tale.—Chief Justice Allcock then goes on to describe to Judge Powell how he has fixed the Circuits. "He [the new judge, Thorpe] is here now, and I have made an arrangement with him about the Circuits of this year, which I hope you will approve of. I shall be obliged [he says] to take the East in my way home, [*i.e.*, from London], as I fear it would be too late to go to the West after my arrival at York. Mr. Thorpe," he then adds, "is going to Prince Edward Island from hence : he expects to sail from thence early in July for York with his family, consisting, I think, of a lady and five children. His arrival at York," continues Mr. Allcock, "depending as mine does, on wind and weather, he agrees to go to Newcastle only, (to which he says he will ride) ; so that I hope you will have no objection to take Niagara, London and Sandwich.—Mr. Thorpe," he further explains, "much wished to have some place he could ride to this year, as he said his Lady's alarms would be such as to the dangers of the Lake as to injure her materially, if he was to leave her on such an expedition on her first arrival. Under all circumstances," the Chief Justice finally observes, "I could think of no other arrangement."

When *The Speedy* foundered, Mr. Herchmer, a merchant of York, also perished. I have Mr. Herchmer's signature attached to a receipt, which happens to give the amount of municipal tax paid by two citizens of York in 1801. "Received, York, 22nd April, 1801, from Alexander Wood, Esq., for Doct. Burns, the sum of four dollars, being the amount of his Taxes and his brother's. J. HERCHMER, Collector. Doct. Burns, 16s., Alex. Burns, Esq., 4s.; total, 20s." One barrister who narrowly escaped drowning in *The Speedy* was Mr. Weekes. He determined, as Mr. Thorpe proposed to do, to "ride" to the vessel's destination, and so saved his life. My specimen of Mr. Weekes' autograph consists of an order for window-glass and putty left with Mr. Wood. He was contemplating building at York. "Please to order from England for me Six Hundred feet of Glass, ten by sixteen inches, and putty sufficient for glazing the same. W. WEEKES. 12th Oct., 1805. Alexander Wood, Esq." In the following year Mr. Weekes was killed in a duel at Niagara.

Chief Justice Alcock's successor was Chief Justice Scott. I have two autograph letters of Mr. Scott. One was written when he was Attorney General, and is addressed to Judge Powell, requesting him to nominate some one to conduct the Crown business in his absence, it being necessary for him to repair to York in consequence of the death of the Lieutenant-Governor, General Hunter. "As the melancholy event," he says, "that hath taken place renders it a duty in me to return to York as soon as possible, I request that you will appoint any gentleman at the Bar whom you may think fit to carry on prosecutions for the Crown, when a person in such a situation may by you be considered as necessary." The other letter was written by Mr. Scott eleven years later, on his being allowed a pension. It is addressed to Governor Gore, and reads thus: "March 30th, 1816. My Dear Sir: I have only time to offer my sincere thanks to your Excellency and the Members of the Legislature. Their generous conduct I see and feel; and I shall ever bear in mind the high obligation they have laid me under. I now return the enclosed according to your request. I am, with great regard, your Excellency's obedient and obliged servant, THOS. SCOTT." The pension was the comfortable one of £800 sterling per annum, as appears from a receipt which I have: it is a printed form filled up, and it runs thus with great and satisfactory particularity: "Upper Canada. Receiver General's Office, York, the third day of January,

1820. Received of George Crookshank, Esq., Acting Receiver General, the sum of Four Hundred and forty-four Pounds eight shillings and tenpence halfpenny, Canada Currency, being my half-year's allowance of Pension from the 1st of July to the 31st of December, 1819, inclusive, at £800 sterling per annum, as late Chief Justice of the Province, granted upon my retirement from the Bench by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, as signified in Earl Bathurst's letter dated the 18th of June, 1816; pursuant to Lieut.-Governor Sir P. Maitland's warrant No. 22 of this date, having signed five receipts of the same tenor and date.—THOS. SCOTT. £444 8s. 10½d., Canada Currency; dollars at 5s. each."

I should have noted further back that between Gov. Simcoe and Gov. Hunter came the Administrator, Peter Russell. He was afterwards Receiver General of the Province. Here is his autograph signature, a fine one, attached in that capacity to a receipt, which informs us what was the sum accruing to the public Treasury from Licenses in the Midland District in 1806. "Receiver General's Office, 20th March, 1806. Received from John Cummings, Esq., Inspector for the Midland District, through the hands of Alexander Wood, Esq., Twenty-three pounds twelve shillings and ninepence, Halifax Currency, for account of Duties received on Licenses in that District.—PETER RUSSELL, Receiver General. £23 12s. 9d., Hx. Currency; dollars at 5s." Mr. Russell died at York in 1808. I copy the printed card of invitation which was sent to his friends on the occasion of his Funeral, the mem. at its close sounding somewhat strange to us now. "Sir: The favour of your attendance at the Funeral of the late Mr. Russell is requested on Wednesday next, at 2 o'clock precisely. York, 3rd October, 1808. Divine Service and a Funeral Sermon, by the Reverend Mr. Stuart."

Of Governor Gore I have several minute manuscript remains. He was twice Governor of Upper Canada. He departed before the Three Years' War, begun in 1812, and was reappointed when the contest was over. The following is a familiar note to Mr. Justice Powell, 3rd May, 1810. He was just on the start for an inspectional tour, probably. "Dear Sir: I hope to get away on Saturday morning; therefore if you will excuse a short invitation, and take your *supper* with us to-morrow at half-past 5 o'clock, we shall be most happy of your company.—FRANCIS GORE." The italicised *supper* is, I think, a jocose allusion to the use of the word supper for "Tea," common



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in the United States and among country people here. Secondly, I produce Mr. Alexander Wood's License to sell Spirituous Liquors, signed by Governor Gore's own hand, with Mr. Allan's receipt as Inspector, for the fees receivable on the same. This is the same Mr. Wood whose scruples about profiting by the great rise in the value of fifty acres of the Elmsley Estate were noted just now. "Province of Upper Canada. Francis Gore, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, &c., &c., &c. To all whom these presents may concern: This License is granted to Alexander Wood, Esq., of the County of York, Home District, Shopkeeper, to utter and sell Wine, Brandy, Rum, or any other spirituous liquors by retail, to be drank out of his house. This License to be in force until the fifth day of January, One thousand eight hundred and eleven; provided that the said Alexander Wood shall observe such rules and regulations as are or shall be made in that behalf. Given under my hand and seal at arms at York, in the County of York, the seventeenth day of January, One thousand eight hundred and ten, in the 50th year of His Majesty's reign.—FRANCIS GORE, Lt.-Governor. By His Excellency's Command: JOHN MCGILL, Inspector-General, Public Provincial Accounts."—"Received from the said Alexander Wood, Esq., the sum of One pound sixteen shillings sterling, being the original statute duty on each License, and likewise the sum of Twenty shillings, lawful money of this Province, being the additional duty imposed on the same by the Legislature.—W. ALLAN, Inspector." The John McGill, whose autograph also here appears, is the gentleman from whom McGill Street and McGill Square, Toronto, have their names. I give one or two more representative relics of Gov. Gore. Here is an extract from a letter to Col. Givins of York, after his final retirement from the Government of Upper Canada. Writing from 15 Lower Grosvenor Place, he says: "I learn that Lord Dalhousie has recommended a Major Darling to succeed to our poor friend Claus. I suppose his Lordship is satisfied with that gentleman's perfect knowledge of the Indian Nations to justify him in preferring him to so important an office. \* \* If I was a little younger, it would afford me great pleasure to pay you a visit and witness your improvements. My late absence from London prevents me from filling up a letter with the news of the day: the most important event is the hourly expectation of the Duke of York's death. It is quite impossible to describe how universally he is beloved,

not only by the Army, but by every class." The rumour respecting the appointment of Major Darling did not prove to be well-grounded. Col. Givins himself became Col. Claus' successor in the Chief Superintendency of Indian Affairs. A little later, Mr. Gore communicates to Mr. Justice Powell at York an *on dit* of the moment in London, which he evidently thought farcical, and which also did not prove true. "Many thanks for your letter," he says, "and I was about writing to you to tell you that Sir Peregrine Maitland has asked for a twelve month's leave of absence, which is granted: and that Sir Francis Burton has received the appointment of Governor General of British North America!!! I beg you not to mention this latter appointment," Mr. Gore adds, "because Sir Francis begged me not to mention it; and yet it has transpired, although many do not believe it." He closes with a hint which probably had much latent significance: "I should recommend you," he says, "to abstain from making any applications to the Colonial Office at present, but wait till Mr. W. Horton abdicates, which I understand will be about Christmas."

The name of Sir John Harvey, otherwise so greatly distinguished, has an especial interest with Upper Canadians, inasmuch as it was he—at the time Lieut.-Col. Harvey—who planned and so successfully carried out the daring night attack on the enemy's Camp at Stoney Creek on the 5th of June, 1813, by which a most effectual check was given to the progress of invasion. My autograph memorial of Sir John Harvey is the following letter, addressed to Col. Givins: it refers, like another document, already given, to the death of Col. Claus, and to a movement which was set on foot to secure for Col. Givins the succession to the General Superintendency of Indian Affairs—a post for which his long experience with the native tribes, and his knowledge of their languages, peculiarly fitted him. The movement was, as we have already been apprized, successful. "I had not heard" he says, London, 1st Dec., 1826, "of poor Col. Claus' death, nor do I at all know whether it be intended to keep up the appointment he has so long held. If such should be the intention, much attention would doubtless be paid to the recommendations of the authorities in Canada, particularly, I should imagine, as regards Upper Canada, to that of your excellent Lieut.-Governor, [in 1826, this would be Sir John Colborne,] whose support you will, I doubt not, have, and you can require nothing beyond that." Previously,

however, in the letter, Sir John Harvey had said, "I addressed a note to Mr. Horton for Lord Bathurst's information, stating my knowledge of your services in the Indian Department, particularly as they fell under my observation in the late War, in such a manner as may, I trust, be serviceable to you."

When Gov. Gore departed for England in 1811, it was simply on leave. Major General Brock, the Commander of the Forces, became Administrator or President of Upper Canada. Of this distinguished man, soon after slain at the Battle of Queenston Heights, where his noble monument is a conspicuous object, I have an epistolary relic. It is not in any way of a military character, being a letter to the Bishop of Quebec, the first Bishop Mountain, of whom we have before heard. Every one knows that at the outset a close connexion subsisted between Church and State in Upper Canada, often no doubt to the inconvenience and perplexity of both contracting parties. Solemn letters passing between governors and bishops on the subject of missionaries, rectors and ecclesiastical livings, have become curiosities now to us under the modern and much simplified system of a Free Church in a Free State. Bishop Mountain, it appears, had thought it proper to apply to the Administrator of the Government for his opinion as to the advisability of ordaining a certain German Lutheran named Weagant. The Administrator had referred the matter to Dr. Strachan, recently appointed to York. He then replies: "York, Upper Canada, September 24th, 1812. My Lord: I was honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 3rd ult., a fortnight ago, but thinking that it would be more satisfactory to receive a confirmation from Dr. Strachan of the favourable account given by others of Mr. Weagant's character, I have delayed until my arrival here giving an answer. Dr. Strachan is of opinion that Mr. Weagant's abilities and moral conduct entitle him to be admitted into the ministry of our Church, and that he will be of essential benefit to the people among whom he now resides, who generally speak Dutch, in which language he is only competent to officiate. It appears that Mr. Weagant attends at present three places of worship, and it is suggested that he should be required to perform some duties. Allow me to assure your Lordship that I shall at all times be proud to attend to your recommendations, and to express my regret that your Lordship's ill state of health deprived this Province of the advantage of your Lordship's presence. I have the honour to

be, with high respect and consideration, your Lordship's most obedient and very humble servant, ISAAC BROCK, M.G." This letter is wholly in the handwriting of Gen. Brock. As a pendant, I add an extract from a letter by Major Glegg, who was with the general as one of his aides-de-camp at the moment of his death at the base of Queenston Heights. It was written some years later at Quebec to a friend who had congratulated him on a happy windfall in England, which he was about to take possession of. "I thank you," he says, "very sincerely for your congratulations on my late very unexpected good fortune; it is quite true that a distant connexion has left me a very pretty estate in my own county (Cheshire), and in the immediate neighbourhood of all my relations, about seven miles west of Liverpool, and thirteen from Chester, where I shall be truly happy to give you a good day's shooting and a most hearty welcome under my roof. It is my intention to proceed to England soon after the opening of the navigation, proceeding through your Province to New York."

During the Three Years' War, in the course of which Gen. Brock was killed, the church at Niagara was burnt, along with the whole town. Being of stone, however, the walls of the building remained. Some sentences of a letter, now before me, from Mr. Addison, the English clergyman there at the time, to Bishop Mountain of Quebec, will afford an idea of the situation in which the inhabitants found themselves. It is dated at Niagara, 30th Dec., 1815. "I took the liberty," he says, "of recommending the state of our church to your Lordship's protection by Lieut.-Col. Robertson, of the Canadian Fencibles. I now think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship that we have begun to perform the Service in it, and have got, by means of a subscription, three windows and some benches put into it. We are still in a very comfortless situation, and if Government will not assist us, I fear we shall continue so for some time." The three windows here spoken of were not some of "the storied windows richly dight" with which we deck our churches now, but doubtless the most matter-of-fact affairs, simply to answer the primary purpose of windows, viz., the admission of light: the three opposite apertures were probably roughly boarded up. Mr. Addison then expresses some desire to be transferred from Niagara to the London District. "I have been strongly solicited," he says, "by some of my old hearers who have removed to that district, to live amongst them, and should

not feel much disinclined, if such a salary was allowed for visiting the Indians two or three times a month, as would make up for the loss I must sustain in leaving my present situation. I beg leave, however, to assure your Lordship that I wish not to ask any unpleasant favour, for really, my Lord," Mr. Addison pathetically subjoins, "I think it a matter of great indifference where I struggle through the few remaining years of my life."

It having happened just now that Dr. Strachan and Bishop Mountain came before us together, I give here, as examples of their autograph letters respectively, two extracts in which a trifling passage of arms or crossing of pens occurs between them. The Bishop of Quebec was in London at the moment, attending to Canadian Ecclesiastical interests at Downing Street and elsewhere. The Doctor writes to him from York, Upper Canada; and after, among many other things, detailing certain specific advantages which he has heard the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada had lately obtained from the Home Government, he ventures to observe to the Bishop, "It is impossible to look at this statement, my Lord, without inferring that either the Ministers at home, or the Head of the Church in this country, had failed in their duty. It therefore behoves your Lordship to take such steps as shall clear you from any such suspicion, and bring to light your incessant exertions for the increase and prosperity of the Church, (*i.e.* the Church of England in Canada.)" He suggests that the Secretary of State for the Colonies should be moved to dispatch a strong letter to the authorities in Canada in favour of the Church of England; "and if the letter added," he says, "that his Majesty's Government expected the hearty co-operation of men high in office here in promoting the prosperity of the Establishment and affording it every assistance, it would have a wonderful effect. Such a letter," he remarks, not surely with his customary shrewdness, "your Lordship might, I think, very easily procure."

After passing in review the other points in Dr. Strachan's communication, the Bishop takes notice with a good deal of dignity of the words and ideas just quoted. He writes from Hastings, in Sussex: "You tell me, Sir," he says, "that it is impossible to look at this business without inferring that either the Ministers at home or the Head of the Church in Canada had failed in their duty. It therefore (you say) behoves me to take such steps as shall clear me from any such suspicion, &c. These observations may in some degree be

just. I am fully aware that in ordinary minds, or with persons not sufficiently informed of the difficulties to be encountered—the Ministers consider the affairs of the Canadas to be involved in very great difficulties—a want of success will commonly produce the suspicion of a want of due exertion. Yet I do not exactly see the propriety of urging this to me. I must bear these suspicions as I may. The time perhaps will come when the exertions which I have made will be better understood. I shall not remit them; but it is not my intention to make them public at present. I have a very awful responsibility, and I trust that I am duly sensible of it; but what 'it behoves me to do,' under the circumstances in which I am placed, ought in propriety to be left to my own judgment." Then as to the facility with which Ministers might be moved to adopt a particular line of action, the Bishop rejoins: "Ministers will not consider the Ecclesiastical affairs of the Colonies but in conjunction with other matters relating to them. Whenever they do proceed in this business, they will certainly not fail to have before them all that relates to the Reserved Lands, and everything else materially affecting the Establishment and the general interests. But like many other persons at a distance from Courts and Ministers, you mistake extremely in supposing that effectual attention to everything that seems important in the Colonies, and particular directions respecting it, may 'very easily' be obtained here." In his next letter, Dr. Strachan offers many apologies for his "loose manner of expressing himself," which he says was the result of haste,—Col. Talbot, who was to be the bearer of the letter, being kept literally waiting until it should be finished. He then adds: "The great exertions of your Lordship to place the Church in these Provinces upon a more respectable footing do more than equal my expectations, which were not perhaps very moderate. They are not to be measured by their success; but will reflect the greatest credit on the first Bishop of Quebec, when they are once generally known, long after we are all mingled with the dust." Both of these energetic contenders in a cause which it was their office to uphold are now mingled with the dust, and truly their names are held in honour. But the way out of the maze in the perplexities of which they were entangled—how different it finally was from that which they had conceived to be the only one!

But now I must return to secular affairs. When Gen. Brock was killed, the command, civil and military, devolved on Gen. Sheaffe.



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The name of Gen. Sheaffe—afterwards Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe—is associated with the history of Toronto. It was he who retired with the remains of the small regular army under his command towards Kingston, when Toronto, then York, was taken and partially sacked by the Congressional invading force. I possess an autograph letter of his. It is addressed to Col. Givins at York, and introduces to him and to us Capt. Basil Hall. "I have the pleasure of introducing to you," Gen. Sheaffe says, "Capt. Basil Hall of the Royal Navy. In granting him the benefit of any kind offices in your power, and in procuring from others any aid that may promote the purposes of his visit to Canada, you will confer an obligation on, yours very truly, R. H. SHEAFFE." This letter is dated Edinburgh, 8th April, 1827.

Capt. Basil Hall's three volumes of *Travels in North America* in 1827–8 appeared in 1829. He preceded Mrs. Trollope by a few years, and, like that lady, he gave great offence by his criticisms, which, like hers, were not always of the most enlightened kind. An autograph letter which I chance to have of Capt. Hall's relates wholly to America. It is addressed to W. R. Hamilton, Esq., Secretary to or otherwise connected with the Athenæum Club, and it offers some recommendations in regard to the newspapers of the United States some forty years ago. The letter is dated 4 St. James' Place, Wednesday, 23rd June, 1830. "My dear Sir," it proceeds, "in reply to your question about American papers, I beg leave to mention to you, that I think your best plan would be to take one of the New York Tri-weekly Papers, as they are called, and Niles' Weekly Register. The New York Paper will give you all the interesting transatlantic information current at the moment, including as good a report of the Debates in Congress as can be required in this country; while Niles' Register will be found very useful, from its containing all the Reports made to Congress and a great mass of other information pretty well arranged, and carefully indexed. These qualities make Niles' Register a good work of reference; and it is my intention to offer to the Athenæum a complete set from its commencement, I think in 1811, up to 1828. This can easily be completed to the present day; and if the Committee think fit, it may be continued in future as a document to be referred to. With respect to the National Intelligencer, it strikes me that this would be superfluous, if you get Niles' Register and a New York Tri-weekly Paper. When Congress is sitting, indeed, the reports of the Debates are more fully given in the Intelligencer than in any

other Journal, but they are of such length and so peculiarly local, that they are well nigh unintelligible even on the spot. At this distance I can hardly think they would be found interesting or useful by the members of the Athenæum, especially if they had the means of applying to the condensed Reports in a New York Paper. I would venture, therefore, respectfully to recommend to the Committee to order, simply, *The New York Enquirer*, Tri-weekly, and *Niles' Weekly Register*. I remain, most truly yours, **BASIL HALL.**"

After the War which was wound up by the Treaty of Ghent, Gov. Gore returned to Upper Canada, as has been already intimated. On his final retirement in 1818, Sir Peregrine Maitland succeeded. But there was a brief interregnum, when President Smith, as senior member of the Executive Council, was at the head of affairs. I shew Col. Smith's hand subscribed to a document which records the allowance made to a Lieutenant Governor or Administrator, in 1820, "in lieu of fees." Col. Smith's proportion for four months is nicely calculated down to five-tenths of a farthing, sterling,—an expression more dignified than half a farthing would have been. The Prince Regent and Carlton House suddenly come before us in the paper. "Upper Canada, Receiver-General's Office, York, 30th June, 1820. Received from George Crookshank, Esq., Acting Receiver-General of Upper Canada, the sum of One hundred and Fifty-seven Pounds nineteen shillings and four pence and five-tenths of a farthing, sterling, dollars at 4s. 6d., being one moiety of a part of the One Thousand Pounds, sterling, per annum, in lieu of fees which have hitherto formed a part of the emoluments of the Lieutenant-Governor of this Province, from the 8th March to the 30th June, 1820, inclusive, as established by His Majesty's warrant, under the sign-manual of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, bearing date at Carlton House the 29th September, 1812, having signed five receipts of same tenor and date.—**SAMUEL SMITH**, Administrator."

My first autographic relic of Sir Peregrine Maitland will be a certificate under his hand and seal, guaranteeing the trustworthiness of an attestation given by a Notary Public at York to another document. I select this particular paper because it brings under view a group of names familiar to the early people of Toronto, two of them also, in addition to Sir Peregrine's, autographically inscribed. First we have a copy of a Power of Attorney from William Halton to Duncan Cameron to draw certain moneys. The accuracy of the copy and

the genuineness of the original, with its signatures, are attested by STEPHEN HEWARD, Notary Public. The Lieutenant-Governor adds his testimony to the reliability of the Notary; and Major Hillier subscribes the Governor's certificate as Private Secretary. Preceding Mr. Heward's signature is his Notarial Seal, bearing his name; and preceding the Governor's signature is a seal with the Royal Arms. The witnesses to the original signature of William Halton are D'Arcy Boulton and George S. Boulton. The Governor's certificate is in these terms: "By Sir Peregrine Maitland, K. C. B., Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Major-General Commanding His Majesty's Forces therein, &c. &c. &c., I do hereby certify that Stephen Heward is a Notary Public, duly admitted in the Province, to whose acts in that capacity entire credit is due. Given under my hand and office-seal at York in Upper Canada, this fourteenth day of January, 1820.—P. MAITLAND. By His Excellency's Command, GEORGE HILLIER, P. S."

My second memorial of Sir Peregrine will be another illustration of that curious interlacing of Church and State which was once expected to be a joy for ever in this country. It is a pleasant letter to Bishop Mountain of Quebec, the prelate whose acquaintance we have formed already. We have in it again the Governor of Upper Canada in the character of a Charlemagne, pointing out the best position for a clergyman, and solving a difficulty in relation to the ownership of a place of worship. Between these two matters of business we have an appropriate reference to the past and present of the aborigines of the country. "My dear Lord," Sir Peregrine says, "I have communicated my sentiments to Archdeacon Stuart respecting the fittest station for the Rev. Mr. Morley. Indeed, I had no hesitation in deciding on the Grand River, as the Mohawks, with whom he has to converse, are in greater numbers, and have more settled habitations there than in any other part of the Province. This subject reminds me," he then proceeds, "of a letter I received from your Lordship long ago, and which, but that I could plead absence from home and indisposition, I should feel ashamed had remained so long unanswered. In that letter your Lordship requests that I would point out to you some source of information relative to the past and present state of the Indian Tribes dispersed over this part of the American Continent. To my intercourse with the Officers of the Indian Department and other persons long resident in this country, I owe the very

limited information I have obtained respecting these tribes, and I am not acquainted with any publication on the subject of which you do not appear to have been in possession." He then adds: "On referring to the Rev. Mr. Myers' application and the Note of Council, it seems to me that Mr. Myers could not take a better step than to offer the Presbyterians to restore to them the sums they subscribed for the building of the Church: this, I think, would remove all difficulties." There are then some family compliments: "Lady Sarah unites with me in felicitating your Lordship and Mrs. Mountain very sincerely on your daughter's marriage, and on the good state of health which both Mrs. Arrabin and her sister seemed to enjoy when we had the pleasure of meeting them. I have the honour to remain, my dear Lord, yours very faithfully, P. MAITLAND." This letter is dated from "The Cottage," i.e. Stamford Cottage, July, 1st, 1823. So recently as September 18th, 1873, I noticed in the Bath Chronicle the following sentence: "Several noble families are placed in mourning by the death of Lady Sarah Maitland, daughter of Charles, fourth Duke of Richmond, and aunt of the Countess of Bessborough." This is the same Lady Sarah.

In Sir Peregrine Maitland's day, the Canada Company, which still carries on its operations, was instituted and incorporated. Of its first Chief Commissioner, Mr. Galt, I exhibit two little relics; the first, a note, dated Barn Cottage, Old Brompton, 25th Nov., 1833, addressed to W. Jerdan, Esq., for thirty-four years editor of the Literary Gazette, relating to the affairs of Mr. Picken, deceased, a man of letters, who had, in his day, written a book on the Canadas. "The sudden death of Mr. Picken," he says, "has left his family in very straitened circumstances, and his son has requested me, if you would have the goodness to insert it in the Literary Gazette, to write his character. He likewise tells me that his father has a novel finished, and if he can dispose of it, I have promised to correct the press. The notice in the Gazette would be of great service." The second relic of Mr. Galt is a portion of the manuscript of a story of his, entitled, "Tribulations." I select a passage: "No to waste words, we were by and by married, but for all that she was not your grandmother; for she had not been my gude wife scarcely a twelve-month and a day when she took a kittling in her craig and departed this life at her appointed time with a sore heart—a kink, as it were—leaving me all her residue, which was a great penny, more than

double and aboon for what I married her; but she said I had made the best of husbands, and needed a consolation for the loss of her; so saying, she died, leaving me with the meal, though the basin was taken away."

I show part of a letter in the curious, even, sloping, handwriting of Mr. Widder, so long associated with the Canada Company, with his familiar signature attached. "I have been urged by three successive mails from England, by influential parties, to endeavour to draft some project for a Railway, and Colonization purposes. This I have done, and with the concurrence of favourable circumstances, I believe that success will attend my scheme. I shall require to submit it, as I have previously intimated, to the consideration of *this* Government after I obtain the approbation from home; and as I think my success will be mainly influenced by the scheme having to be dealt with whilst you are a member of the Council, I feel extremely anxious about your continuance therein for two or three months. Believe me, &c., FRED. WIDDER." As a memorial of Mr. Robinson, the Commissioner of the Canada Company, lately deceased, I preserve with care an autograph addressed to him by Sir John Franklin, who, on one of his journeys north, previous to the expedition which proved fatal to him, was the guest of Mr. Robinson at Newmarket. "Dear Sir," Sir John Franklin writes, "you will be glad to learn that we reached the River by eight this morning with all the stores. I feel much indebted to Mr. Beaman for his exertions: without his aid and that of the men under him we should have had to remain some days on the other side of the Portage, as the Contractor had neither Teams nor Cart ready. The former were procured by Mr. Beaman from a farmer, and I have to request you will pay him for their use and charge the sum to the general account. I have just heard that Lieut. Douglas sent off his Batteaux yesterday; but as the wind is strong from N.W., I fear it will be three days before it reaches us: in that case our provision will run short, if Mr. Beaman does not succeed in getting us some on his return, which he will endeavour to do. We have found your Canteen and supplies extremely useful, and feel much obliged for your kindness in letting us have it. Believe me, &c., JOHN FRANKLIN. Monday, 11th April, 1825. Lieut. Back will have to get provisions from you for the men. The Batteaux will be sent back here for them as soon as possible." The river spoken of would be the Holland River, and the other side of the

Portage would indicate Penetanguishene, where Sir John would embark on Lake Huron for the North or North-West.

My first relic of the ruler of Upper Canada who came next after Sir Peregrine Maitland—viz., Sir John Colborne—will be one of an ecclesiastical character again. It is a note addressed to Bishop Mountain of Montreal, son of Bishop Mountain of Quebec, accompanying a paper justificatory of himself in proceeding to establish the famous fifty-seven Rectories. He says: "My dear Lord,—In transmitting to you the accompanying letter respecting the Rectories in Upper Canada, I beg to mention that I have no objection to this communication being forwarded by you to the Colonial Secretary, if you think the explanations will be useful to the cause. I remain, my dear Lord, sincerely yours, J. COLBORNE." This note is dated Sorel, 14th Oct., 1837. On the same subject, I transcribe a letter to the same Bishop from Chief Justice Robinson, written also at Sorel, in 1837. It reads as follows, and contains, as we shall see, the main reason of Sir John Colborne's recent action: "My dear Bishop,—I am spending a day with Sir John Colborne before commencing my duties on the Eastern Circuit. The Archdeacon made me the bearer of Lord Glenelg's dispatch on the subject of the Rectories, and sent it open that Sir John might see it. It is a bulky document, but I believe it will reach you without subjecting you to the necessity of contributing to the Post Office revenue. I promised Dr. Strachan to see that it was sent to you from hence. Of course you are aware that both in 1817 and in 1825 instructions were sent by the Secretary of State, the latter formally and carefully framed on the Statute authorizing the Lieut.-Governor and Council to erect parsonages, &c., and to endow them; so that the Crown Officers have given their opinion upon a defective, or rather upon an erroneous statement of the case. I am, My dear Lord Bishop, most faithfully yours, J. B. ROBINSON."

Another epistolary relic which I have of the Governor last named, is dated at Deer Park, near Honiton, Devon, May 24, 1852, written after he had become Lord Seaton. It shows the minute interest still taken in the affairs of the Province formerly under his charge. "I beg to acquaint you," he says to a Canadian correspondent, "with reference to your letter of the 3rd, that I have made Lord Hardinge acquainted with my opinion as to the expediency of the title of the Ordnance Department to the Niagara Reserve being relinquished, to



enable the Town Council to proceed with their proposed Railway improvements, and shall be glad to render any assistance in my power to promote the views of the Memorialists. I have the honour to be &c., SEATON."

Having given above representative autographs of the two Bishops Mountain, I ought to present one of Bishop Stewart, the second Bishop of Quebec. I accordingly make an extract from a letter written by him while yet a simple missionary. It was addressed from London, in 1823, to Archdeacon Mountain at Quebec. "I have drawn up a subscription paper," he says, "in aid of building Churches in Canada, and of defraying the expense of repairing the Mohawk Church in the Bay of Quinté. I went to the Archbishop yesterday—to Addington—and he gave me £10. He told me that the robbers of Lambeth Palace had carried off very little indeed. I do not see that I can do anything in aid of procuring Bells for the Cathedral. Mr. Davidson promised me, last week, to inquire at the Treasury if there is any prospect of assistance in that quarter. \* \* You will oblige me by requesting Mr. Malhiot (at your leisure) to examine and air my linen and mattresses left in my cot at his house, for I wish to preserve them from being spoilt." This Bishop Stewart was a son of the Earl of Galloway.

Sir Francis Head was the successor to Sir John Colborne. I copy a portion of a letter of his, written after his return to England, to a friend in Canada: Lord Durham's Report is referred to in it, and he speaks of being engaged in the construction of a paper on a subject of which he recently knew nothing:—"I have been much occupied," he says, "for the last month in writing an article which will appear in the Quarterly Review on the first of January [1839], on Railroads, or perhaps on the Power of Steam. I was but a tyro in the steam department (as you may well recollect, for you know I nearly blew you up one day in the middle of a long argument) when I was at Toronto. In fact, I knew nothing at all about Railroads, but I was so strongly pressed to write about it, and ignorance was so strongly urged as being no objection whatever, that I at last undertook it. If you should read it, you will see that I fired a shot into Lord Durham, in return for the gun he fired on all preceding governors at his departure from Quebec." I take this occasion to produce an autograph of Lord Durham's, but unfortunately it was written before his famous mission to Canada, and so has no allusion

to Canadian affairs. It is dated Lambton Castle, Dec. 26th, 1834, and is addressed to S. W. Phillips, Esq. It must speak for itself. "Sir," it says, "I have the honour to transmit to you an Address to the King from the Inhabitants of Oban, which I beg you to lay before the Home Secretary for presentation to His Majesty. Your obedient servant, DURHAM."

The name of Sir Francis Head suggests that of William Lyon McKenzie. I have Mr. McKenzie's autograph signature in a copy of Story's Laws of the United States, captured at Montgomery's on Yonge Street in 1837. Leaves are turned down at the Act of 1794 to establish the Post Office and Post Roads within the United States; and in the Act of 1799 to regulate the Collection of Duties on Imports and Tonnage. I have also his name subscribed with his own hand to Scrip for One Dollar, issued by the Provisional Government of Upper Canada in 1837, at Navy Island. I copy the document, which is a printed form only partially filled up: (David Gibson's autograph also appears thereon.) "\$1. Provisional Government of Upper Canada, No. 252. Navy Island, Upper Canada, Dec. 27, 1837. Four months after date, the Provisional Government of Upper Canada promise to pay to — or order, at the City Hall, Toronto, One Dollar, for value received. WM. L. MCKENZIE, Chairman *pro tem.* Ex. Com. Entered by the Secretary, P. H. WATSON. Examined by the Comptroller, DAVID GIBSON." I preserve likewise a blank commission in the "Patriot Army," organized along the frontier in the United States in 1839, ready-signed by H. HAND, Commander-in-Chief of the North-Western Army on Patriot Service in Upper Canada, and endorsed by "John Montgomery," President of the Grand Eagle Chapter of Upper Canada on Patriot Executive Duty, Windsor, Upper Canada, Sep. 26, 1839. ROBERT ROBERTSON, Secretary. A rude woodcut adorns the fly-leaf of this paper of an Eagle soaring aloft and carrying in its claws the British Lion. At the side is the motto "Liberty or Death."

W. Lyon McKenzie's name recalls to Upper Canadians that of Joseph Hume, and his often-quoted letter to Mr. McKenzie on the "baneful domination of the mother-country." I introduce here a note of Mr. Hume's, wholly creditable to him but on quite a foreign subject. It is a communication addressed to a young protégé or relative named Crow, who had been a little wild. The tenor of the document enables us at once to conceive the case. I copy the original.

"38 York Place. 26th March, 1819.<sup>1</sup> Lear James: It was my intention to have seen you immediately after I wrote to Captain Tarbet, but I have been prevented by a press of business. On consulting Captain Tarbet, I think nothing better can be done for you at present than to proceed in his ship, and to put yourself under his orders in every way he may direct; and I am certain he will behave towards you as your conduct may deserve. I have written to your mother to that effect, and I should hope you will see the propriety of implicitly attending to your duty on board, so as to merit the patronage of Captain Tarbet. I have every disposition to give you the same assistance to forward you in life as I have given to your brother Robert and to your cousins. But as your behaviour has not hitherto been such as to deserve that countenance from me which I have given them, it would be highly improper in me to make no distinction. If, under Captain Tarbet's commands, you conduct yourself to merit his approbation and recommendation, I shall be most happy on your return to receive you as I have done your cousins, into my house, and to afford you all the assistance in my power to forward your views in life. But I am confident your own good sense must convince you that you have not behaved as you ought to have done, and that it is absolutely necessary you should have a fair trial, which you will have under Captain Tarbet, of shewing your capability, and of proving the inclination to behave well and to deserve attention. Captain Tarbet will order you such clothes, &c., as he may think you require for the voyage; and I shall have an opportunity of seeing you again before you sail. I am your well-wisher and friend, JOSEPH HUME. Mr. James Crow, Ship *York*." The young sailor, we will hope, weighed well these paternal words, and turned them to profitable account.

Sir George Arthur, who followed Sir Francis Head, was the last Governor of the Province of Upper Canada. His name is before me, subscribed by his own hand, to a long letter addressed to Bishop Mountain of Montreal, from Government House, Toronto, 18th December, 1838. This again is ecclesiastical in tone. The whole paper is in the handwriting of Mr. John Kent, who for a time acted as Private Secretary to Sir George. I transcribe the concluding sentence: "The subjects brought under my consideration by your Lordship's letter I am conscious are of the deepest importance. I will give what attention to them I can bestow at present, and I do

assure you I shall have pleasure in doing so; but I lament there should be occasion to undertake, in the midst of commotions from without and troubles from within, measures which should have been adjusted in the day of tranquillity and of peace. I have the honour to be, &c., GEO. ARTHUR." A preceding paragraph possesses more interest. "I have caused," Sir George says, "the whole subject [of the Upper Canadian Indians] to be fully gone into by the Provincial Secretary, and Mr. Tucker is a gentleman who will feel it to be a conscientious duty to befriend the Indians, and to exert himself to bring their case forward, so as to remedy the past, as far as it admits of remedy, and to provide for the future."

Lord Sydenham carried the reunion of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada by judicious pressure brought to bear on the Special Council of the latter and the House of Assembly of the former. I have several autographs of Lord Sydenham's. Here is one signed while yet a Commoner—addressed to a Canadian member of Parliament: "10th December, 1839. My dear Sir: I hear that you made a most admirable speech this morning, which I cannot refrain from thanking you for. I only regret that I had not the pleasure of hearing it. Very truly yours, C. POULETT THOMSON." Here is another written after his elevation to the Peerage. He refers in it to a Periodical about to be brought out at Toronto, having a political object: also to certain land-grants in Garafraxa, a township on the Grand River. It is dated from Government House, Montreal, 28th November, 1841. "My dear Sir: I have yours of the 24th this morning. As the case now stands, the course you propose to adopt in regard to the 'Monthly' is the best, to take an opportunity in the publication of the first number to explain that 'my sanction and patronage' mean the support which I am glad to give to any literary work undertaken upon good principles,—and not a control or responsibility on the part of the Government. After all, the paragraph does not seem to have attracted much criticism, and may not injure the Journal, which was what I feared, or commit the Government. They are a funny people there. They make a great piece of work about the supposed interference of the Government with elections, about which we should care nothing in England, and do not mind an avowal that a Journal is under the sanction and prompting of the Executive. I have a complaint from home about our giving as much as 50-acre allotments in the Garafraxa concern,

and they want them to be reduced to 5 in future. This is too little, but at the same time 50 appears large. Will not 25 do? This, I think, was my original suggestion. Let me know your opinion, and also the *reasons* for 50, if you still think that number ought to be continued. Send me, too, some account of how the thing is proceeding, as you have been up there. They like *facts* at home very much, and *they* tell more than 100 arguments of any other kind. Believe me, my dear Sir, yours very truly, SYDENHAM." Lord Sydenham's very minute hand is difficult to decipher. He did not employ in his signature his full title—SYDENHAM AND TORONTO.

After Lord Sydenham came Sir Charles Bagot as Governor-General. My autograph memorial of him speaks of the Clergy Reserve question, which was not yet settled. The note is addressed to one of his Canadian Ministers, and is dated Friday, March 18, 1843. "I had entirely forgot," he says, "when you were here this morning, that I had transmitted by the last mail to the Colonial Office your own Memorandum upon the Clergy Reserve question; and I conceive therefore that *en attendant* the receipt of Lord Stanley's answer to my dispatch upon the subject, we have precluded ourselves from any further discussion upon the subject. As, however, there are no doubt other points which we have to decide in Council, I will be down to-morrow at 2 o'clock. Yours truly and faithfully, CHAS. BAGOT." I may add another example, addressed to an eminent Canadian legal functionary. It is dated simply "Sunday morning," and then runs thus: "My dear Sir: There appears to be no chance of seeing you excepting on a Sunday, when your Court is not sitting. Can you come and dine here quite quietly to-day: nobody but ourselves. I wish much to have some conversation with you on College matters, which admit of no more delay. I have not had a line from the Bishop. Yours truly and faithfully, CHAS. BAGOT." It was Sir Charles Bagot, it may be recalled, who laid the foundation-stone of King's College, which afterwards was transformed into University College, Toronto.

Of Lord Metcalfe, who came next after Sir Charles Bagot, I have to content myself at present with a sign-manual attached to a marriage-license; and similarly with respect to Lord Cathcart, who administered the Government for a short time.

In addition to the bold ELGIN AND KINCARDINE signature of the Governor-General who then succeeded, I have a note in the third

person wholly in his own free, dashing, gubernatorial handwriting. He speaks therein of the Reciprocity Treaty, names Monklands, the Governor-in-Chief's temporary residence near Montreal, and asks for the draft of a dispatch. "Lord Elgin would wish the Act for the establishment of reciprocal Free Trade with the United States, and the Minute of Council with reference thereto, to be sent to Monklands this evening or to-morrow, Saturday; also the draft of Lord Elgin's dispatch sent a fortnight ago, covering a letter from Mr. Merritt."

Apropos of drafts of dispatches:—I venture to give, from the original, a specimen of the irreverent way in which Secretaries at head-quarters sometimes speak of such things, one to the other. The following is from Mr. Governor's Secretary — to Mr. Provincial Secretary — of Lord Sydenham's period, I think; and relates possibly to some great State Document which, after due manipulation, influenced subsequently perhaps the destinies of the whole country. "My dear —: I went to your room to ask you to read the enclosed and found you just gone. I wish you would look it over, if it is not too much trouble, and let me have it, if not to-night, early to-morrow. One point I assume, but you will correct me if I am wrong—that the surplus of £274,000 on the Loan was to go in aid of the Public Works Loan: indeed if it was not, I do not know where it should have gone. The enclosed is a rough draft, so pray have no hesitation in altering or adding to it. It wants a concluding sentence, which I will write afterwards—something about speaking strongly and public duty, &c. &c., and that kind of official balderdash. Yours ever truly, ———. Monday. P.S.—I have added the balderdash."—When we are thus admitted behind the scenes and learn some of the secrets of State, we can enter better into the spirit of old Oxenstiern's observation to his son:—"You are not aware, my child, with how little wisdom the world is governed!"

Of this era is a note which I produce, of Dominick Daly's, afterwards Sir Dominick, and Governor of Prince Edward's Island. He salutes in the following amiable manner his own successor in the post of Provincial Secretary under Lord Elgin, Mr. Sullivan: "My dear Sullivan," he says, "if I may not congratulate *you*, I certainly can the *Public*, upon your having waived your objections, and consenting to fill my late office. Should it happen that my knowledge of the details in any matter can be made available to you, I hope I need

not assure you that it will afford me much pleasure to be in any degree useful to you. So pray command yours, very truly, D. DALY. Champ de-Mars Street, Saturday, 10th March, 1848."

One more relic of Lord Elgin's day, ere I pass on. The year 1848, it will be remembered, was a memorable one for commotions in Europe. It was not allowed to pass without public trouble threatened to Canada, from the usual quarter. Mr. Barclay, so long the well-known British Consul at New York, had occasion to address the following communication to the proper functionary at Montreal, on the 28th of August, 1848. "Sir: I beg to acquaint you that a large company of persons, sympathizers with the seditious in Canada, left Albany and its vicinity on Saturday morning the 26th instant for Quebec. This information may be relied on as correct. It is derived from the same source as that communicated to you by my letter of the 26th instant, for the use of His Excellency the Governor-General. I have the honour to be, &c., ANTH. BARCLAY."

A sentence or two of Sir Edmund Head's, Lord Elgin's successor, must close for the present my Canadian series. After the requisite number of years, manuscript relics of the Lords Monck, Lisgar and Dufferin, and of several of their respective contemporaries in Canada, will be of equal interest with those which I have now adduced.

I transcribe first from a letter addressed by Sir Edmund to a friend in 1856. It may be observed that Sir Edmund Head's handwriting, while Governor-General, was of a style most appalling to the ordinary reader or copyist. The words are visible enough, with roomy spaces between them. The pen seems usually to have been a soft quill with a broad nib, much worn. But haste ever impelled the hand, and most of the letters are only partially formed. His signature might be anything—the cipher of an eccentric Shah or Padishah. In 1856 Ottawa had not yet been fixed on as the capital of Canada. The Government was still alternating between Toronto and Quebec. In November of this year, Sir Edmund writes to his friend thus: "The open state of the Seat of Government Question is doing harm by aggravating the French and English quarrels, and affording a topic in which four parts out of five can always be brought to bear negatively against any Government." To the same friend we have him expressing, two years later, an opinion on Canadian Confederation—some nine years before Confederation was effected. "I admit," he says, "the union of the Canadas may be difficult to maintain. If it



should go, according to my view the next, indeed the only hope would be the promotion of some Government on a still larger scale, more or less like a federation, which shall gather up the reins and control the St. Lawrence, as well as the Western and Eastern waters. I do not undertake to say," he adds, "that I should be for framing a Government strictly 'federal'—that is, one in which the (1) residue of power belonged to the local governments, and the limited power to the central one. It is possible, nay, probable in my opinion, that the local powers should be the limited ones, and the central power the unlimited one. We start, not from the separate existence of five or six independent states, but from the fact that all are already provinces subject to the same sovereign. All this, I think, matter for grave discussion; full of difficulties, but not therefore impracticable or absurd." In 1856 again we have Sir Edmund, in a letter from Toronto to the same friend, making the following startling observation: "I think," he says, "the Toronto University and its Colleges give about as much trouble as the rest of the Government business put together." Now that the storms alluded to are all over, how pleasant to hear or read these words!

With my literary relics relating to the United States I shall be very brief. I show first a volume from the library of William Penn, a splendid copy of the first edition of Gilbert Wats' translation of Bacon's *Instauratio Magna*, printed at Oxford in 1640, with Marshall's portrait and mystical title-page; the whole dedicated to Charles I. in a Latin inscription, in which that king is styled "Dominus Virginie et Vastorum Territoriorum adjacentium et dispersarum Insularum in Oceano Occidentali." The bookplate therein exhibits the arms of the Penn family, and underneath, the following: "William Penn, Esq., Proprietor of Pensylvania. 1703." The motto is *Dum clavum teneam*, "Let me but hold the helm." The family motto, as given by Burke, is *Dum clavum rectum teneam*, "Let me but hold the helm aright"—which accords with the verse of Ennius, from which the words are borrowed. The omission of *rectum* makes the sentiment savour of ambition. It may be observed that the first syllable of "Pensylvania" has only one *n*; and so the name of the province appears in the older Gazetteers, and in early French works. Penn survived the date on his bookplate fifteen years. On several pages of my copy of the *Instauratio* there are marginal annotations in manuscript which are probably from the

hand of William Penn. He was, as we know, a scholarly man and a thoughtful student. At p. 29, St. Paul's words, *Devita profanas vocum novitates*, are quoted in Latin in the text: the annotator adds in the margin with a pen the rest of the sentence—*et oppositiones falsi nominis scientie*. At p. 277, on the expression, "glasses of steel" in the text, the observation is made—"speculis ex metallo, in Lat. edit."—shewing that Gilbert Wats' version of the *Instauratio* was being compared with the original. At p. 200, "fine wafer-cakes" is erased, and "furmenty" substituted. An allegation in page 262 is declared "false" in the margin.—The great Elm-tree under which the treaty of Penna with the local aborigines was made, long continued to be a venerated object. When, during the war of the Revolution, Col. Simcoe was quartered at Kensington, he so respected it that when his soldiers were cutting down every tree for firewood, he placed a sentry under it, that not a branch of it might be touched. After Montmagny, a distinguished French Governor-in-Chief of Canada, the Indians used, as we know, to style all Governors-in-Chief *Onontio*, i.e. Montmagny, Great Mountain. In the same way the natives who had formed treaties with Penn, styled subsequent Governors of Pennsylvania, *Onas*, i.e. Pen, from the name of the great white man whom they had learned to respect. As the highest compliment which the Indians could pay to Sir William Keith, a Governor in 1722, they said, "We esteem and love you, as if you were William Penn himself."

The last royal Governor of the Province of New York was Major-Gen. Tryon. Happening to possess the original parchment containing his commission as Colonel of the 70th Regiment, I preserve it for two reasons: first, because it bears at its head the sign-manual of George III., some remains of the royal seal, and some other autographs of note; secondly, because the document is to me a kind of visible transition-link between the few relics which I have of the "old colony days" of the southern portion of this continent, and those which I have relating to later American history.

In 1777 Gov. Tryon was seeking release from his troublesome post. The Documentary History of the State of New York, published at Albany in 1859, contains many papers from the pen of Gov. Tryon, and among them is a letter dated at King's Bridge Camp, 3 Oct., 1771, addressed to Lord George Germain, from which I give an extract: "The incidents," he says, "that have occurred to me since

my return to this country, my present situation, and the state of my family affairs, all powerfully invite me to return home. The fee-simple of this vast continent would be no temptation for my residence in a country in which I have struggled through so many scenes of trouble and disappointment, against all which, a principle of pure affection for his Majesty and his Government has, thank God, sustained me." Under date of Whitehall [London], 5 June, 1778, Lord George Germain makes the agreeable announcement to Gov. Tryon, of his appointment to the Coloneley of the 70th Regiment, and of his elevation to the rank of Major-General. "It was a great pleasure to me," he says, "in the course of last month to have the honour to lay before the King, for his Majesty's royal signature, a Commission giving you the rank of Major-General in America, according to that you held as Colonel, and which your merit and services so well entitle you to, and upon which, and your appointment to the command of the 70th Regiment, I beg you will accept my congratulations." On the 6th of the following September, Tryon acknowledges the receipt of the two commissions. He says to Lord George Germain: "These most gracious marks of his Majesty's bounty towards me have filled my mind with gratitude for such royal benevolence. I shall most cheerfully serve through this campaign," he continues, "at the expiration of which, unless a very opening prospect should present itself to render some essential service on this continent, I shall entreat the Commander-in-Chief's permission to quit America that I may lay in a better stock of health for future services, and settle my private affairs in England, which daily become more pressing." The parchment instrument, then, which I possess, is one of the documents to which reference is made in the two foregoing extracts. I give it entire, with the royal sign-manual at the beginning, and three other autographs of official persons at the close. "GEORGE R. George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to our Trusty and well-beloved William Tryon, Esq., greeting. We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your loyalty, courage and good conduct, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Colonel of our Seventieth Regiment of Foot, whereof our Trusty and well-beloved Lieutenant-General Cyrus Trapaud was late Colonel, and likewise to be Captain of a company in our said Regiment. You are therefore to take our said Regiment as Colonel, and the said Company as Captain, into

your care and charge, and duly to exercise as well the officers as soldiers thereof in Arms, and to use your best endeavours to keep them in good Order and Discipline. And We do hereby command them to obey you as their Colonel and Captain respectively. And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from time to time as you shall receive from Us, or any other your superior officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War in pursuance of the Trust We hereby repose in you. Given at our Court of St. James, the fourteenth day May, 1778, in the Eighteenth year of Our Reign. By His Majesty's Command, WEYMOUTH. Entered with the Secretary at war, M. LEWIS. Entered with the Commissary-General of Musters, JOHN F. HESSE."—At the side of the document appear three half-crown stamps. In 1772 the whole of the western part of the State of New York was included in "Tryon County," a name which was changed after the Revolution to "Montgomery County," after General Richard Montgomery.

Finally I transcribe an interesting letter of General Washington's, which perhaps may have been in print before, although I have never seen it so offered to the public. We are therein transported to Philadelphia in 1782, and we find ourselves in the midst of naval and military movements connected with the War of Independence. It is addressed to Col. Dayton, and reads as follows (he spells "Pensylvania," it will be observed, as Penn spelt it): "Philadelphia, Jan. 28, 1782. Dear Sir: I have received your favour of the 12th, and am glad to find you have got rid of the person who embarrassed you. Inclosed you have my acceptance of Col. Dehart's resignation, which be pleased to deliver to him. I cannot grant that of Major Hollingshead before he himself signifies a desire of leaving the service. When he does that let him mention the time that he looked upon himself as out of the Army, that his resignation may be dated accordingly. I am of opinion with you that the most flagrant abuses are committed under the cover of flags to and from New York, and am willing to adopt any measures to prevent a continuance of them. I have no papers with me but those of a late date, and therefore cannot refer to the instructions formally given to you upon this subject. If I recollect them they were to put a stop to the practice of Flags going and coming at stated times, and to suffer no persons to go on board or to land from the Boats except those who have proper passports. All letters to be delivered to the Officer on Guard at

Elizabeth Town. If you think this mode, or one similar to it, will answer the purpose, you will carry it into execution and try the effect. Previous to seeing your letter to General Hand, I had heard that there was some uneasiness in the Company stationed at Wyoming, and had determined to relieve it. You will therefore order up a relief as soon as the troops are clothed. I have no new instructions to the officer who is to go upon the command. He will call upon Captain Mitchell for those given to him and follow them. You may give him this general caution, to confine himself to his military duty and avoid intermeddling in the politics of Pennsylvania or Connecticut. I am, Dear Sir, your most obt. servt., G. WASHINGTON."—Col. Dayton.

The great contest was drawing to a close. Winners as well as losers were becoming somewhat weary of it, as we may perhaps partly gather from the letter before us. Washington was aware that negotiations for peace were likely soon to commence. He knew, nevertheless, that it was politic to maintain to the latest moment a due preparedness for all issues.

I might give a few words from the hand of Bishop White, the first Anglican bishop in North America, consecrated at Lambeth in 1787; their subject matter, however, would be unimportant.

I exhibit the MS. signature—ABRAHAM LINCOLN; but I do not transcribe the document to which it is attached, that being simply a Military Commission, cancelled. It was "given" at Washington on the 27th of July, 1861. The autograph of the Acting Secretary of War, THOMAS A. SCOTT, likewise appears thereon.



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